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Archæologia Cambrensis.

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A

COMPARISON OF CELTIC WORDS FOUND IN OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE AND ENGLISH DIALECTS WITH MODERN CELTIC FORMS.

PART III.

THE remaining part of our investigation will treat mainly of the consonantal differences between Anglo-Celtic words and their equivalents in modern Celtic. Our task here will be easier than in discussing the vowel-changes, because the consonantal systems, or modes of expression, do not differ so widely in the English and Celtic tongues as the vocalic; nor is there any reason to suppose that in this department so many Anglican changes have been made in course of time as in the other.

Before beginning, however, to treat of consonantal changes, we may turn aside for a while to consider the changes that have been wrought in the languages themselves. A constant process of change goes on in all languages, from various causes; new words are brought in from allied or other sources; words that belonged to the primitive stock, and were retained to a given age, become at length obsolete. In some instances the meaning is lost; but whether the meaning has been retained in some old vocabulary, or has altogether passed away,

they have become foreign to the language as it is now spoken. The changes may be so great that the language of a nation, at one time, may become in a few centuries absolutely foreign to the descendants of those who spoke it. The Latin of the Salian hymns was not intelligible to the ordinary Roman citizen in the time of Cicero; the *Roman de la Rose* cannot be understood by a modern Frenchman who has not studied Roquefort. The Early English that we were wont to call Anglo-Saxon must be learned by an Englishman as he must learn German or Old Norse; and even the *Morte Arthure*, or the *Ayenbite of Inwit* (*Remorse of Conscience*, fourteenth century), of Dan Michel cannot be read by an Englishman of the present day without the aid of a dictionary. Even the glossaries sometimes fail to help us, for in some instances the meaning of the word is no longer known. It is in this case that a study of the Celtic languages will often supply the lost meaning; and on the other hand, our Anglo-Celtic words will throw some light on the changes which the Welsh or Irish language has undergone, and may enable us to determine some disputed questions about their form and position a thousand years ago. Instances of the recovery, by these means, of a lost meaning have been given in the words *mok* ("For everi *mok* must in to mire") and of *stroth rande* in the *Morte Arthure*. I propose to offer, in the first place, other instances of Celtic words found in our old English literature, of which the meaning has been lost in the course of time, and then to attempt to shew an earlier meaning of now existent Celtic words, or to explain some that have become obsolete.

OBSOLETE CELTIC WORDS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Bunys. "Gret men forsake here (their) housen ful timys, gret wrethe, deth of kynges, voydyng of *bunys*, fallyng of baneris." (MS. Harl. 2320, H.)¹ Mr. Halli-

¹ H., Halliwell's *Arch. and Prov. Dict.*; E., W., N., S., the east, etc., of England; E. D. S., the Eng. Dial. Soc.; E. E. T. S., the Early English Text Society; E. E. Voc., Early English Vocabularies.

well conjectures that the word means *blows*; but this makes the expression unintelligible. The word *bun* is often found in O. Eng. books and in our dialects, with the meaning it has in Welsh and Irish; Ir. Gael. *bun*, W. *bon*, a stock, a stem. In Wycliffe's translation of the O. Test. we find "*bonys*" of flax (Josh. ii, 6) where we have now "stalks". It is still used in Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and other counties. It is also used in the flax trade. "The flax plants are passed between these cylinders, and the stalk or *boon*, as it is technically called, is by this means completely broken." (*Eng. Enc.*, s. v. Flax.) The word has the same extent of meaning as the Eng. *stock*, and is here = family. Cf. W. *bonedd*, stock, pedigree, descent, gentry; Ir. *bunadh*, a stock, a family. *Voydyng* is used as the O. Fr. *vrider*, driving out, "expulsion, action de chasser" (Roq.), and the meaning is that honourable families were driven away or destroyed.

Chynge, glossed *reuma* for *rheuma* in a vocabulary of the fifteenth century. (*E. E. Voc.*, i, 267.) It is in a list of names of diseases ("nomina infirmitatum"). The word does not mean a catarrh, for the preceding entry is "*hic catarus*, an^o (Anglice) a pore", i.e., a pore or catarrh. It means a running sore or ulcer; and it is the same word as the Manx *ching* (*tinge*), a sore, an ulcer; sick, ill, which corresponds to the Ir. Gael. *tinn*, sick, diseased; *tinneas*, sickness, disease. Every word has a history, and this word *chynge* gives evidence: (1), as many other words, that the Celtic race practised physic among their Saxon conquerors; (2), since the word denotes a running sore, and disease in general, that inflamed sores (the word *tinneas* is connected with *tine* or *tinne*, fire) were a very common form of disease in the sixth and seventh centuries, probably from poverty of food; and (3), that *t* before a vowel, especially before *e* or *i*, was pronounced nearly as we pronounce it in *destruction*. The consonant is pronounced as a soft *ch* in parts of Ireland, and in the Highlands, as well as in the Isle of Man. (O'Don., *Ir. Gram.*, p. 39.)

M'Alpine, in the Preface to his *Gael. Dict.*, says that "*t* followed by *e* or *i* sounds like *ch* in child, or *ti* in Christianity." This is a Celtic use, and our English pronunciation may be due to the Celtic element in the English people.

Codilbon, the name of a plant. (Hall., *s. v. Istia*.) It is found in an old receipt (fifteenth century) for making "a whyte trett" (embrocation; Ir. Gael. *treite*=*treiti* or *trete*, an embrocation) "that is callyd plature *istia* or syne. Than take whyte lede, and put thereto powder of serews (O. Fr. *seris*, chicory or endive), and *codilbon* therto.....and instead of *codilbon* it ys to be noted that tansy, hemsed, or the croppys, whyle they be grene, may be taken.....the whiche trett or *istia* wolle garre (make) the matere to yssen owte at the wownde." This word is, I believe, a compound of Ir. Gael. *codal*, sleep, and *bon*, a stem,—here, a plant; the Ir. Gael. *codhlan*, the poppy.

Coyse, jolliness, joys. (Coles, 1677; marked as an old word.)

"King of quaff (Bacchus), carrouse and doffe
Your liquor of, and follow mee!
Sweete soyle of Exus Ile (Naxos?),
Wherein this *coyse* was every day."

Percy MS., ii, 53.

It means a feast or feasting; Ir. Gael. *coisir*, a feast, an entertainment.

Crag, the face or countenance. "He hung a lang *crag* when t' news come." (Cumb. D.) Primarily a jaw; W. *crogen*, a gill, a jaw.

Crogen "seems to have been a jocular term for a Welshman." (Nares.)

"Nor that terme *crogen*, nickname of disgrace,
Us'd as a by-word now in ev'ry place,
Shall blot our bloud, or wrong a Welshman's name,
Which was at first begot with England's shame."

Drayton, N.

W. *crog*i, to hang; *crogyn*, a crack-hemp; *crogyn o ddyn*, a fellow fit for the gallows.

Gelt, "unexplained, I think", says Nares, "in the following passage of Spenser. Church and Upton say that it means a castrated animal. But why should Amoret be so compared? Or why should loss of wits be attributed to such an animal?"

"Which whenas fearefull Amoret perceived,
She staid not th' utmost end thereof to try,
But like a ghastly *gelt* whose wits are reaved,
Ran forth in hast with hideous outcry,
For horreur of his shamefull villany;
But after her full lightly he uprose."

F. Q., iv, 7, 21.

Church and Upton made only a bad and unseemly guess. It is the Ir. *geilt*, a wild man or woman, one living in woods; adj., wild, mad.

Guiniad, a fish common in Ulswater and other lakes of Cumberland, of a silvery white colour. (*Eng. Enc.*, iv, 650.) "Nor would I have you ignorant of a rare fish called a *guiniad*." (Iz. Walton, c. xiii.) *W. gwyniad*, a whiting, a mearling; *gwyn*, white.

Locer. Bosworth has this word in his *A. S. Dictionary*, but is uncertain as to its meaning,—“a joiner's instrument, a saw, plane? S.” As other words in this Dictionary, it is not Teutonic, but Celtic. Its meaning is well known by Celtic students. Ir. Gael. *locar*, a carpenter's plane; *locair*, to plane, to make smooth with a plane, to polish; Manx, *locker*, a plane; *lockerey*, to plane; *lockerskeegh*, shavings. This word gives evidence that the British Celts were not only tillers of the ground, but artisans possessed of some degree of skill in the arts of life.

Muggles. This word is found in a curious legend of St. Augustine. Layamon, in his *Brut* (iii, 185, 186), says that the Saint preached to the men of Dorchester (some copies have the preferable reading, Rochester) of Christ, “Godes sune” (the Son of God); but they derided him, and taking the tails of rays (the fish so called), they fastened them on his cope:

“And nomen tailles of rehgen,
And hangede on his cape.”

Augustine became very wroth, and, unlike his Master, prayed for vengeance upon his foes. His prayer was heard, and henceforth they and their offspring bore tails. They had "muggles", and men called them "Mugglings":

"Tha tailles heð comen on,
Ther noren heo magen iteled beon,
Iscead wes that mon-cun,
Muggles heo hafden,
And ine hirede ælches
Men cleopeth heom *muglinges*."

("Then tails came upon them: there were they tailed. Disgraced was that man-race: they had *muggles*, and in every company men calleth them *muglings*." The MS. Otho has *moggles* and *moglynges*. It is an old Celtic word. "*Mocoll*, gl. *subtel*". (Z., 80.) *Subtel* or *subtela*, according to Ducange, is the tail-band of a horse, a crupper; originally a roll of leather, to which, I believe, a pendant was often attached.

Nill, the shining sparks of melted brass. (Bailey.) *Nill*, the sparkles or ashes that come of brass tried in the furnace, pompholyx. (Gouldman, *Eng. Lat. Dict.*, 1678.) I give this word as another instance of an artisan term drawn from the Celtic languages. Their number is very considerable. Ir. Gael. *neul*, light, a glimpse of light; O. Ir. *nel*,¹ solus, light, a ray or flash of light. (O. Ir. Gloss, p. 107.)

Riche.

"The knyzt kaches his caple and com to the lawe,
Liztez down luffly and at a lynde (linden) tachez
The rayne and his *riche*."

Sir Gawayne, p. 69.

Mr. Morris, the editor of *Sir Gawayne* for the Early English Text Society, thinks that *riche* may mean horse. It means a tunic or outer garment. W. *rhuch* (*rich*), a coat; *rhuchen*, a coat, a leathern jerkin; tunica (Da-

¹ Probably the Irish word was primarily *nila*, whence would be formed *naila*, *nela*, *nel*. If so, the Anglo-Celtic word has preserved an older form. There was one, however, still more ancient, the Sans. *nal*, to shine.

vies); Arm. *roched*, "chemise d'homme"; Ir. Gael. *rocan*, a hood, mantle, cloak; A. S. *hrægel*, raiment, a garment; Germ. *rock*, a coat, a robe; Fr. *rochet*, a coat, a loose gaberdine.

Ryndes.

"Thare the *rynde* overreaches with reale bowghes
The roo (roe) and the reyne-dere rekless thare rounene
To the *ryndes* of the wode."

Morte Arthure, 921, 3364.

The editor, Mr. Perry, explains *ryndes* as thickets; but there is no authority for this interpretation. It seems only a guess; and there would be tautology in speaking of the thickets of the wood. The word means trees. Ir. Gael. *rinn* for *rind*,¹ a tree.

Sorfe, "a kind of wood mentioned in Harrison's *Descr. of England*." (H.) It is the service-tree. W. *sarff*, Lat. *sorbus*.

{ *Soyl*, prey. Spenser (Webster.) "The prey, the soiled beast." (Gloss., ed. 1850.)
{ *Stocah*, an attendant, a wallet-boy. Spenser (Webster).

I insert these two words from Spenser in support of a previous assertion, that Celtic words abound in the language of the streets, and sometimes are found in more cultured language. The first has nothing to do with soiling. It is the Ir. Gael. *sealg*, hunting, prey; and the second is the Ir. *stocach*, a kitchen idler, a loungeur who seeks for occasional hire.

Tunnif, ground ivy. East. (Wr.) This is an instance of the Irish or Gaelic form of Celtic, which prevails along the eastern parts of England. The first syllable is, I think, the Ir. Gael. *tan*, with the customary weakening of *a* to *u*, land, country, and the second a shortened form of *ivy*, which is also of Celtic origin.

¹ Again the Anglo-Celtic word seems to have retained the older form. "In the ancient Irish MSS. we find *nd* almost invariably written for the *nn* of the modern Irish orthography, as *tond* for *tonn*, a wave; *ceud* for *ceann*, a head; *glend* for *gleann*, a glen or valley." (O'Don., Ir. Gram., 34.) The form *glend* has been retained in the place-name *Glynde*, in the south of England.

Tydyfre, a kind of bird. This is the form of the word in *Wright's Provincial Dictionary*, quoting from the Parliament of Byrdes. In the copy of this poem, published in *Early English Poetry*, by W. C. Hazlitt, vol. iii, 177, the form is *tytyfer*.

"I say, sayd the *Tytyfer*, we Kentysse men,
We may not geve (give) the crow a penne,
For with them that are sober and good,
A byrde in hande is worth two in the wood."

Mr. Hazlitt does not attempt to explain the word, or to show what bird is meant. It is, I believe, the gnat-snapper. *W. tit*, *titen*, a small fly, a gnat; *titiaid*, ciniphes, conopes (gnats, Davies); *W. yfwr*, a drinker, an imbibor.

There is a considerable number of words in the plays of our great dramatist, Shakespeare, that are either certainly, or probably, of Celtic origin. I subjoin some instances of such words; for any attempt to throw light on the obscure passages in his immortal works is, at least, an undertaking of a laudable kind, and may be of use.

Kam.

"Sic.

This is clean *kam*.

BRUT. Merely awry. When he did love his country
It honoured him."

Coriol., iii, 1, 105.

Mr. Knight says that this means, nothing to the purpose. The word is certainly the Ir. Welsh *cam*, crooked, awry, perverse. Menenius has been praising the disgraced general, and the tribune, Sicinius, replies that it is perverse at such a time to do so, and his fellow tribune by saying, "merely awry", only echoes the opinion that had been expressed. Coriolanus had taken up a position against his country, and to extol now his former acts of devotedness was only perverseness.

Breeched.

"There the murderers,
Steep'd in the colours of their trade, their daggers
Unmannerly breech'd with gore."

Macbeth, ii, 3, 122.

This expression has given rise to many conjectures and some proposed emendations, as if the passage must be corrupt. Of all the attempted explanations, Dr. Schmidt's is the strangest. He supposes that to breech means here, "to cover as with breeches, to sheathe". I venture to suggest that the meaning is that the daggers were stained, or dappled, with gore, and would connect the word with W. *brych*; Ir. Gael. *breac*, stained, spotted, dappled; W. *brychu*, to stain, to spot. In a word-list sent out by the Philological Society, I find "*breck*, a stain". The word has been retained in our dialects. In Cumberland *breuk't* means parti-coloured. Cf. Dan. *bræk*, a fault, a stain, and O. N. *bragd*, variatio (Hald.) Hence the word *bracken*, a northern name for the fern-plant, from its spotted fronds.

Hint.

"Our *hint* of woe

Is common, every day some sailor's wife,
The masters of some merchant, and the merchant,
Have just our theme of woe." *Tempest*, ii, 1, 3.

This word has been explained as denoting that the calamity was so slight as to be only a hint or suggestion of woe; but a shipwreck could not be spoken of so lightly. We may reasonably connect it with W. *hynt*; O. W. *hint* (Z. 22), a way or course, answering to *theme* in l. 6. The word, in the form of *hent* and *henty*, is found in our dialects, and is a name for the course or line of the plough in making a furrow. Arm. *hent*, chemin, route, voie. This may, perhaps, explain a line in *Hamlet*, iii, 3, 88:

"Up, sword, and know thou a more horrid *hent*!"

This word is commonly connected with A. S. *hentan*, to hunt after, to take, to seize, and is explained by Dr. Schmidt as meaning "hold, seizure, apprehension"; but the noun does not exist in Anglo-Saxon, and the related O. N. *henda*, manibus jactare, apprehendere, shows that it is connected with *hand*.

Bug, a spectre, a hobgoblin ; a cause of fear.

"And do you tell me of a woman's tongue,
That gives not half so great a blow to hear
As will a chestnut in a farmer's fire ?
Tush! Tush! Fear boys with *bugs*!"

Tam. Shrew, i, 2, 211.

"Warwick was a *bug* that feared us all."

Henry VI, III Pt., v, 2, 2.

These passages may be compared with a verse in Matthews' *Translation of the Bible*, "Thou shalt not nede to be afraied for any *bugs* by night;" rendered in the Authorised Version, "Thou shalt not be afraid for any *terror* by night" (Ps. xci, 5). The word must be referred, I think, to *W. bwg*, a hobgoblin ; Cf. *Ir. bugh*, fear.

But the Celtic languages have also changed in course of time, and our Anglo-Celtic words enable us to mark some of these changes. I will take some examples of this kind in the Welsh language.

W. caill. This word is marked by Pryse as obsolete, but the meaning of testicle is attached to it, as to the Arm. *kall*, *kell* (testicule). The original meaning, *stone*, has been retained in Fr. *caillou*, a stone, a flint stone, and in our provincial words *cale* (Lanc.), to throw stones, and *keal* or *keale* (N. Hamp.), stones, small stones in masses.¹ Cf. Sans. *çilā* for *kilā*, a stone. The Celtic languages have retained the root in *cal*, *cal-ed*, hard.

W. cerddin, the mountain ash. Our Anglo-Celtic

¹ So also in Northamptonshire the primitive meaning of *gyve*, a sinew ("gyves, sinews of the legs") has been retained, probably from *gabh*, to hold. I do not know whether the *W. gaw*, a sinew, a tendon (Pryse) is still in use; but the *W. gefyn* means only a fetter. *Gaw* is not in the dictionaries of Salusbury, Davies, and Richards, in this sense; but Davies and Richards have *giaw*, nerves. The change or extension of meaning must have been made at an early date, for Layamon, who wrote about 1205, says,

"Tha wes Vortigern væste (fast) i-bunden,
Giues swithe grete heo duden an his foten."

(They placed very great fetters on his feet.) *Brut*, ii, 218.

relatives are *care*, ("Another preventative of great fame is the mountain ash or *care tree*", Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, iii, 1021), and *keer* (Dev.), the mountain ash. The Irish name is *caorran* (Gael. *caorrun*), from *caor*, a berry, the berry of the mountain ash; *caora*, a cluster of berries or grapes. The Ir. *caor* is probably = *cora*, the root being *cor*, round. Our English *care-tree* is hybrid = *berry tree*. Some word equivalent to the Ir. *caor*, berry, must have existed in Welsh, as it has been retained in the derivatives *cerddin* and the obsolete *crawel*, but it has been lost as a separate noun. It has been retained in the Anglo-Celtic *carrons* (Herts), a kind of wild cherry.

W. *cêd*, a gift, aid, or relief, given by tenants to the Lord of the Manor. The Anglo-Celtic form is *cert*. "*Cert-money*, a common fine paid yearly to the lords of some manors" (Blount); Cf. Ir. *ceart* = *certa*, a debt, custom, toll, right; Manx *keayrt*, a tax, tribute, alms. It is interesting to notice that such words as *cert*, *cain*, *carno*, *gavel*; *ben-werth* and *trete*, all of Celtic origin, indicate that the Celtic tenant paid to his Saxon lord such customs or dues as he had formerly paid to his Celtic chief.

W. *cocw*, a hard mass, a lump; marked by Pryse as obsolete. Its existence has been denied, and it has been held to be one of Dr. Pughe's inventions. Our Anglo-Celtic speech shows that a Celtic word, *cōc* or *kōk*, existed here in the fifth or sixth centuries, and had a very extensive use. It denotes some object of a round or swelling form. We find it in *coak* (*cōk*), a round hard piece of wood used as a tenon (common in the West); *cock* (1) a boat, prim. a round coracle; (2) the penis (Lanc.); (3) a mound or heap of hay; (4) a spigot; (5) a snail-shell (N. Hamp.); in *cogger*, a snail-shell (N. Hamp.); *cockle*, to blister, as silk by rain; *coke*, the core of an apple; and in *cowk*, a cow's hoof (Dev.); a sheep's heart (N.) The root is the same in the Sanskrit *kosha* (*koka*), a bud, globe, ball, a testicle, the penis, etc., and *kucha*, the female breast. It is found

in the Arm. *kok*, the fruit of the holly, in the Ir. *coca*, a boat; *coc-oil*, the burdock, and other words. So far from being non-existent, it has played and continues to play an important part in our Anglo-Celtic speech.

W. *cwg*, a rising, a projection. *Chwareu cwg*, a sort of play where two stand together and throw up a ball; on its descent, they strive which shall strike it to his partner, and the furthest throw counts for the game (Pryse). The verb seems to be lost, but it appears in the Arm. *kouga*, to raise the mill-stone of a mill. The Anglo-Celtic equivalents are *cook*, to cast, to throw (Nhamp.), as in "*Cook me that ball*", and "*Let's have a game at cook-a-ball*", which appears to be the English form of the Welsh game; and *cuck* (N.), to throw, in which probably the primitive meaning has been retained. This is, I think, the origin of our common word, *chuck*, to toss, to throw. "*Kind service cannot be chucked from hand to hand like a football*" (Sir W. Scott); though Professor Skeat connects it with Du. *schokken*, to jolt, to shake. It seems to be connected with the Ir. *caith* (for *cacti*?), to fling, cast, throw; and Sans. *kag*, to go, *kang*, to move forward.

W. *crin*, dry, withered, brittle. This word appears very extensively in our English dialects, and in *crine*, to scorch, to burn (Cumb.), we have probably the original meaning. Other related words are *Green*, to pine (Dev.); *Greeny*, *Creany*, shrunk, withered, small (common in all parts); *Crink*, to shrink (Suff.); a very small apple (Heref. Sal.); a small child (N.); and in *criddon* for *crindon*, a person shrunk by age or sickness (Sal.) It is related to Ir. *crion*, to dry, wither, fade, dwindle; dry, withered; Gael. *crion*, to blast, to wither, fade, decay; and to Arm. *krin*, dry, arid (sec, desséché, aride).

These are a few instances, taken from a single letter, of changes which the Welsh language has undergone, as shown by the Anglo-Celtic equivalents of Welsh words.¹

¹ On the other hand, some of our Anglo-Celtic words have changed

It is to be desired that the subject should be more thoroughly investigated by some one who is familiar with the older forms of the Welsh and Irish languages.

It is now time to turn aside from this digression (which will be forgiven, I trust, on account of the interest connected with the subject) to the consonantal differences in Anglo-Celtic and Mod.-Celtic words. In the former we find very frequently *tenuës* corresponding to *mediæ*, and *mediæ* to aspirates; or, in more modern phraseology, a mute surd in one is represented by a mute sonant in the other, and a mute sonant by a spirant surd.

C or *k* for *g*. This is found in *anlaut* (initial sound), *inlaut* (inward sound), and *auslaut*, or final sound.

ANGLO-CELTIC (*in anlaut*).

Carve, kerve, to grow sour

Clett, a mucous discharge from a sore

Cole, money, wealth (slang)

MOD. CELTIC.

Arm. *garo, garv*, rough, sharp, tart;
W. *garw*, sharp, rough; Ir. Gael.

gear, gër, sour, sharp
W. *glyd*; Arm. *glud*, viscid matter,
glue; Ir. Gael. *glaoth*, bird-lime;
Ir. *glodh*, slime, slimy matter, glands

W. *golo*; Arm. *glad*, wealth, money

"And when that he hath noosed us,
And our friends tips him no *cole*,
Oh, then he throws us in the cart,
And tumbles us into the hole!"

(Slang song.)

Crap, a bunch, a cluster

W. *graban*, a cluster; Fr. *grappe*, a bunch or cluster of grapes

both in form and meaning from the parent stock, which in these instances has remained unchanged. We have *gach* for W. *cach* and the Herefordshire *gwethall* (which represents the W. *gwaddol*, a dowry) means household stuff. This shews that in old times the dower of a bride consisted wholly, or in part, of house-furnishing. In Lancashire, even in the last century, the marriage-portion of the daughter of a peasant or small farmer consisted almost wholly of linen and woollen cloths made up as sheets, towels, etc., of which the yarn had been spun at home, and woven in the neighbourhood. Sir C. Lewis, in his *Heref. Gloss.*, connects the Heref. *gwethall* with W. *gweddill*, remnants, orts; but the very diverse meanings of *dower* and *orts* makes this connection inadmissible.

In *inlaut*.

ANGLO-CELTIC.	MOD. CELTIC.
<i>Basket</i> , a vessel made of interwoven twigs, rushes, etc.	<i>W. basged</i> , id.

"Barbara de pictis veni *bascauda* Britannis,
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam." (Martial.)

<i>Biscan</i> , a finger-stall	Corn. <i>bysgan</i> , a finger-stall; <i>W. bys</i> , finger; <i>cen, gen</i> , a skin; Arm. <i>bes-cen</i> , a thimble
<i>Calkin</i> , a sharp-pointed iron on a horse's foot ¹	O. W. <i>colginn</i> , arista (Cod. Juv.); Ir. Gael <i>calg</i> , a sting, a prickle
<i>Casket</i> , a stalk or stem	Ir. <i>cuisseag</i> , Gael. <i>caiseag</i> (<i>caseg</i>), a stalk or stem

In *auslaut*. (This is a very large class of words.)

{ <i>Ballock</i> , a girdle	<i>W. balog</i> , an apron (P.); perizoma, a girdle (Davies)
{ <i>Ballok-knyf</i> , a knife hung in the girdle	

"Sire Johan and Sire Geoffrey hath a girdle of silver,
A baselard or a *ballok-knyf*, with botons over gilte."
Piers Pl. 9867.

<i>Blonk</i> , a horse	<i>W. blanc</i> , a young horse (indicating a process of change going on)
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"Be it foreste or felde, found thou no forthire;
Bynde thy *blonke* by a buske with thy brydille evene,
Lugge thi-selfe undyre lynde, as the leefte thynkes."
Morte Arthure, 453.

<i>Bocks</i> , to regard disdainfully, to swell out, to swell, to strut	<i>W. bog</i> , a swelling out; Arm. <i>bouch</i> , touffe, toupet; Ir. Gael. <i>boc</i> , to swell out, to bud
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I *bocke* upon one. I loke upon him disdaynfully, j'aposte (Palsg.) *Bocyn owte* or strowtin, turgeo (Prom. Parv.); O. N. *bulka*, tumere.

<i>Broc</i> , a threat or boast (Sir F. Madden)	<i>W. brag</i> , a swelling out; <i>brag</i> , a swelling out; Arm. <i>braga</i> , marcher d'une manière fière
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"He bannede his ferde, and saide that he wolde
Bath bi-legge, and eke Brustonwe (Bristol)
A-boute bi-rowe. This was hire *broc*" (his boast).
Layamon's Brut, 21029.

¹ Mahn (Webster's Dictionary) connects our Eng. *calkin*, which has also the form *calk*, with A. S. *calc*, a shoe; Lat. *calceus*. But a shoe is not a sharp-pointed nail or projecting iron.

ANGLO-CELTIC.

Camcock, camock, a curved or crooked tree or piece of wood

MOD. CELTIC.

Ir. Gael. *camog*, curved, twisted; Manx, *cammog*, a crooked bat; W. *camog*, a kind of salmon with a crooked nose; *cameg*, crooked, bent, the felly of a wheel

"Bitter the blossom when the fruit is sour,
And early crookt that will a *camock* be."

Drayton, *Ecl.* 7.

"Full hard it is a *camocke* straight to make."

Eng. Parn. (Nares.)

Coracle, a small round boat made of wicker-work covered with a hide

Crannock, an old measure of corn (Bailey)

{ *Crick*, a crevice (Y.)

{ *Crike*, "rima podicis" (Havelok, p. 69)

{ *Dawk*, to idle (Mid-Y.)

{ *Dawkin*, an idle person (Y.)

Fyllok, a wanton girl

W. *corwgl*, a fishing-boat; *corwg*, the trunk of a body; *cor*, round

W. *crynog*, a kind of measure; Ir. Gael. *crannog*, a basket, a hamper

W. *crig*, a crack, a fissure; *crigyll*, a ravine; O. Fr. *crique*, a bay, a creek

W. *diog*, lazy, slow; *diogyn*, an idler, a drone; Arm. *diek*, *diegus*, lazy, negligent

W. *filog*, a filly, a young mare; "usitatur pro meretrice". (Dav.)

"Than is it comyn to enery wyght,
How they lyue all day, to lye here at nyght?
As losels, myghty beggers and vacabondes,
And trewands that walke ouer the londes,
Mychers, hedge-crepers, *fylloks* and luskes,
That all the somer kepe dyches and buskes."

Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous, l. 114.

C is also often found in Anglo-Celtic words where *ch* now appears in Mod.-Celtic.

Acker, to tremble with passion (Sal.)

Croker, a grower of saffron (Harri-son's *England*, p. 232)

Ok, moist, wet (N.)

{ *Trokys*, cuttings, woundings

{ *Truckle*, a slice (Dev.)

W. *achreth*, trembling; trepidatio, tremor (Dav.)

Ir. Gael. *croch*, s., saffron; adj., red

Ir. Gael. *oiche*, water; Lat. *aqua*; Sans. *ank-ura*, water

W. *truch*, a cut, an incision, cut, broken; Arm. *trouch*, coupe, incision

"Yet he was in suffryng
Of *trokys* and naylis clynkyng
Tyll yt was pacyd non" (past noon).

Pol. and Rel. Poems (E. E. T. S.), p. 249.

"I be come a shroving ver a liddle pankek,
A bit o' bread o' your bakin,
Or a *truckle* cheese o' your makin." (Shrove-tide song.)

ANGLO-CELTIC.	MOD. CELTIC.
{ <i>Back</i> , a small scythe (v.d.)	W. <i>bach</i> , a hook, a grappling-iron;
{ <i>Baca</i> , a hook, an iron hook (in old records, Ash)	Corn. <i>bah</i> , a hook; Arm. <i>bach</i> , croc, "instrument à pointes courbées";
	Ir. Gael. <i>bac</i> , a hook, a crook
<i>Brock</i> , the cuckoo-spit insect found in an immersion of froth; <i>Aphrophora spumaria</i> (N. Y. Linc.)	W. <i>broch</i> , froth, foam; Ir. <i>bruchd</i> , froth
<i>Clecks</i> , refuse of meal, of oatmeal (Linc.)	Manx, <i>cletch</i> , bran, husks of wheat; Gael. <i>cailleach</i> , husks of corn.

C before a vowel often becomes in Anglo-Celtic words, *ch*, as in French. Examples—*Cham*, awry (N.), W. *cam*; *Char*, to hew stone (Webs.), Ir. Gael. *cearr*, to cut; *Chats*, small things, fragments (v. d.), W. *cat*, a piece, a fragment. *Charran*, to deceive.

"For gif hit wulled Teruagant,
The us oure god of thisse lond,
Her mid we sculled heō *bi-charren*."

("For if Tervagant it will, who is our god of this land, hereby we shall deceive them").—(Layamon's *Brut.*, i, 228). Ir. Gael. *car*, a twist, deceit; *carach*, deceitful, tricky. *Chert*, an impure flint-like quartz or horn-stone (Webs.); Ir. Gael. *ceart* (*certa*), a pebble; Ir. *ceirthe* (*certi*), a stone. *Chock*, part of a neck of veal (the part next the breast), Ir. Gael. *cioch*, the breast; Arm. *choug*, the back of the neck, the top of the shoulder.¹ *Chollus*, hard, stiff, stern (Linc.); Corn. *calys*; W. *caled*, hard; Ir. Gael. *caladh*, hard. *Chub*, a lump (Linc.), a rough country clown (Wright); Ir. Gael. *caob*, pron. *kub*, a lump;² Ir. *cobhach*, a clown. *Chuck*, a schoolboy's treat (Westm. Sc.), provision for an entertainment (Slang.); Ir. *cucht*, store, provision; *cucan*, store of food, provisions (Ir. *Gloss.*, p. 60, Z. 80).

C or *k* sometimes appears for *gh*, as in *Brook*, to dirty (N.); Ir. Gael. *brogh*, filthiness, dirt. *Dock*, the name of a plant, *dockin*, a single plant of this kind (New-

¹ Cf. Manx *cug* (Cregeen), the female breast, breast-milk, and Sans. *kucha*, the female breast.

² Hence the name of the fish called *chub*, from its form. The O. N. *kubbr* (trunculus) is from *kubba* (amputare), and seems to be a different word from our Eng. *chub*.

castle); Gael. *dogha*, the burdock; Ir. *meacan-dogha*, the great common burdock (*meacan*=tap-rooted plant. *Luke*, nothing (N.slang); Ir. Gael. *lugha*, least, smallest; and *Strake*, the hoop or wheel of a cart, "vietus, the hoope or *strake* of a cart", "absis, the *strake* of a cart-whele, wherein the spokes settle" (Elyot's *Lat. Dict.*), Ir. Gael. *strach*, an arch; but there are not many words in this class.

C in Anglo-Celtic words sometimes is represented by *h* in Mod.-Celtic, as in

Colt, to crack as timber (Warwick); a landslip (Glouc.); W. *holhti*, to split, to crack; Manx, *scoltey*, a crack, a split; Ir. *sgoltadh*, id.

ANGLO-SAXON.
{ *Cooton*, a dolt (Wr.)
{ *Cudden*, a fool, a clown

MOD. CELTIC.
W. *hutan*, an oaf; *hutyn*, a stupid fellow

"The clavering *cudden* propped upon his staff" (Dryden); and *cl* is found for *ll*, as

Clit, heavy, close (Dors.)

W. *llud*, close, compact

Cliter, to stumble (N.)

W. *llithro*, to slip

Cloffey, a slattern (N.)

W. *lyff*, slimy, dirty; a sloven (Jones)

Closh, an inflammation in the feet of horses¹

W. *llosg*, burning, inflammation

Clour, a small lump or swelling

W. *llor*, a bulb, a boss; W. *clor*, earth-nuts

Cly, money (Wright)

W. *llud*, wealth

On the other hand, an Anglo-Celtic *g* sometimes represents a Mod.-Celtic *c*, as in

Gach, filth, ordure (Glouc.); also *cack*

W. *cach*, dung, ordure; Arm. *kakach*, ordure, saleté; Ir. Gael. *cac*, excrement; Du. *kak*, id.; Sans. *kalka*, dirt, dung

Gargilon, the principal part of a deer's heart (Bailey); a hunter's term

W. *carw*, Corn. *carow*, Arm. *karo*, a stag, a deer; W. *calon*, Arm. *kalon*, Corn. *caloun*, a heart

Gaw, a stripe (S.)

W. *caw*, a band; *bardd caw*, a bard who wears the band or stripe of his order

¹ "*Closh*, or founder, is a distemper in the feet of cattle, taken by some cold after a great heat or vehement travel, which has stired (*sic*) the blood so as it goes down to the feet." (*Dict. Rust.*, 1704.)

ANGLO-SAXON.

Goggy, a child's word for an egg (N.)
Grine, in the hybrid *earthgrine*, an earthquake (Rob. Glouc.)
Gulette, an old word for rent or rent-charge

MOD. CELTIC.

W. *cocwy*, an egg; Ir. *gug*, an egg
 W. *cryn*, a trembling, a shaking;
 Arm. *krena*, to tremble
 W. *cyllid*, a rent, a tax

"And the residue being xx *li.*, lyeth in sundry *gullettes*, in several towns and shers"—Ludlow, *Muniments*, Edw. VI. (Wr.)

These instances are very few in number, and for *gach*, the more common word in almost every part of England, is *cack*. The Sans. *kalka* shows that the Du. *kak* is a borrowed word.

The Anglo-Celtic *g* represents, however, more frequently a Mod. Celtic *ch* or *gh*; as in

Bigge, a teat, a pap (E.)
Bogelle, a herdsman (*E. E. Voc.*, i, 251)

Ir. Gael. *biogh*, a teat, an udder
 O. Ir. *bochaill*, a herdsman, "bubulcus"; Ir. Gael. *buachaille*, id.; Manx, *bochil*, a shepherd; W. *bugail*, *bygel*, a herdsman

Cagg, to make a vow for a certain time, or, as it is said, till the *cagg* is out. A word used by workmen (Wright)

Ir. *cacht*, confinement, restraint; Gael. *cachd*, id.; Ir. *cacht*, to impound, confine; Manx, *caglee*, a limit

Lag, the wild goose

Ir. Gael. *lacha*, *lach*, the wild duck or drake

"The Gray *Lag*, or common wild goose, is the origin of the domestic goose of our farmyards" (*Eng. Enc.*, s. v. *Ducks*).

Mag, an old cant word for a penny (Dekker)

Gael. *meachainn*, a luck-penny, an abatement of rent; Ir. *meachain*, an abatement; Fr. *mahon*, cuivre, medaille de cuivre

{ *Mug*, to move, to move on (Leeds)
 { *Mog*, to move off or away (Sal.);
 O. N. *mōka*, movere

W. *mwchio*, to move quickly

Snug, handsome (Lanc.)

Ir. *snoghach*, beautiful; Gael. *snuahach*, pron. *snughach*, fair, beautiful

Treg, a worthless person (Linc.); "a lame owd *treg*"

Ir. Gael. *truagh* (*truga*), lean, poor, miserable; W. *tru*, *truan*, feeble, poor, wretched; Sans. *tuc'cha*, poor, mean, small, abandoned (?)

(To be continued.)

HEREFORDSHIRE AND ITS WELSH BORDER DURING THE SAXON PERIOD.

SAXON tribes had already established their supremacy to the north of the Humber, and the West Saxons, steadily advancing from the south-west of the island, and in possession of the cities of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester, were gradually making the east bank of the Severn their boundary against the Welsh, when fresh invaders from Germany, landing time after time in large numbers, appeared on the east coast, and soon overspread the country in a gradually expanding stream through the centre of the island towards the south, laying the foundation for the kingdom of Mercia.

There is nothing in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, or in the chroniclers who derived their narratives from it, to mark the onward progress of the Mercians. The account of an occasional collision with their neighbours, the Northumbrians, East Angles, and West Saxons, alone enables a notion to be formed of the gradual extension of their kingdom. With a view to trace its inroads on the Welsh border, it may be well to briefly refer to the early history of Mercia. Little, save their names, is known of its early kings.

In 626 Penda succeeded to the kingdom, and extended the Mercian territory much farther than his predecessors. After several engagements with the Northumbrians and East Angles, he was killed in 655 in a battle with Oswio, King of Northumberland, who assumed the government of Mercia for three years, and bestowed the kingdom of South Mercia, separated from North Mercia by the river Trent, on his brother-in-law, Peada, the son of Penda. On Penda's death, the leading men in Mercia rebelled against Oswio, and placed Wulfhere, another son of Penda, on the throne of Mercia and Middle Anglia. During his

reign, his brother Merwald became King of West Hecana, which comprised a part of Herefordshire.

On Wulfhere's death in 675 his brother Ethelred succeeded to the kingdom. In his reign, Archbishop Theodore succeeded in uniting the English church, and divided Mercia into several sees, of which Hereford was one. It may be, therefore, assumed that the city of Hereford and part of the shire were already under Mercian rule. In 704 Ethelred retired to a monastery, and made over his kingdom to his cousin Cenred who, during his short reign, had many engagements with the Welsh. On his resignation of the throne he was succeeded by Ceolred, son of Ethelred, who, in 715, was killed in a battle at Wansborough with Ina, King of Wessex. His successor was Ethelbald, a great-nephew of Penda. He, first of the Mercian kings, during his reign of forty-one years, obtained a supremacy over the other Saxon kings south of the Humber, including the tribe of the Magesætas, whose territory was to the west of the Severn, in the diocese of Hereford, of which Wahlstod was then bishop. Of his engagements with the Welsh we have no particular account; but it appears that a large number of them were reduced by him to a state of serfdom,¹ and that, in 743, he and Cuthred, King of Wessex, were at war with the Welsh.

On the death of Ethelbald in 757, Offa, the descendant of an early king, was, after the deposition of an usurper, unanimously raised by the Mercians to the throne. Offa's reign of forty years was signalised by aggressions on his neighbours the East Angles, West Saxons, men of Kent, and the Welsh. Tradition assigns with much probability Sutton walls, near Hereford, as the site of one of his royal residences, and as the place where, towards the close of his reign, he murdered his guest, Ethelbert, King of the East

¹ "Britones, magna ex parte, Anglorum servitio mancipati fuere." (Flor. Wig., vol. i, p. 52, ed. Thorpe.)

Angles, the patron saint of the church of Hereford, whose body was on his canonisation removed from its burial place by the river side at Marden to Hereford.¹ In 760, the Welsh invaded Offa's territory, and were defeated at Hereford, with the loss of their leader, Dyfnwalap Teudwr; reprisals followed; the Welsh annals record several invasions by Offa and the laying waste of their country, on several occasions within a space of sixteen years, without further particulars, the relation of which would have disclosed many hard-fought battles. The result of this long struggle was the erection of the great dyke (which bears Offa's name as a recognition of the boundary which was thenceforth to separate the kingdoms of Mercia and Wales) from Treuddyn, in the parish of Mold, to Bridge Sollers on the River Wye, which in its after course continued the line of demarcation between the two kingdoms. Asser, who lived at a period when the event was recent, speaks of the dyke in general terms as extending from sea to sea. Succeeding chroniclers have followed in his track, but there can be no doubt that the dyke ended at Bridge Sollers. The year 777 is assigned as the date when the dyke was thrown up, probably because it immediately follows the date of Offa's last recorded invasion of Wales.

We may still see silent records of the obstacles which arrested Offa's progress to the west in the mountainous districts and once impervious woods which bound the line of his dyke, and of the severity of the struggle made by the Welsh before they fell back on their mountain strongholds within a boundary, which nature had provided for their defence, in the line of earthworks which occur on the border.

On the Herefordshire border are the extensive entrenched camps of Croft Ambry, Wapley,² and Burva,

¹ See the extracts from the manuscript life of St. Ethelbert, by Giraldus Cambrensis, in Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. viii, fo. 88, and *Fasti Herefordenses*, p. 111.

² Perhaps Wapleton of *Domesday*, in the tenure of Osbern Fitz-Richard. See an account of Wapley Camp, vol. iv, 4th Series, p. 338, *Arch. Camb.*

each within signalling distance of the other, forming a last line of defence of a people driven back to the west. In connection with Burva we see lines of retreat northward by the entrenchment, Castle Ring, to the large entrenched camps on the east of the river Ithon, and westward by the smaller earthworks at and near Kington, the two Gaers in Michaelchurch on Arrow, Pencastell in Brilley, and thence by the trackway, or rheol, over Clirow Hill and the Begwns, which there form the northern boundary of the valley of the Wye; or by Gilvach yr rheol, past the site of Pains Castle to the entrenchment on Garth Hill, overhanging the Wye in its upper course.

On the English side of the dyke in Shropshire, the strongly entrenched camps of Gaer ditches in Clun Forest, Bury ditches near Walcot Park, and Billings Ring occur; while on the Welsh side Saeson's Bank, the lower and upper short ditches, the trackway along Kerry Pole, and the numerous mounds on the mountain tops near the boundary of Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire, marked on the Ordnance map as tumuli, but which seem to have served the purpose of beacons or guides, suggest a line of retreat either to the entrenchments on the east bank of the river Ithon in Llanano, Llandewy, and Cefnlllys, or to the interior of Wales.

A glance at the Ordnance map will show that entrenched earthworks abound along the Welsh border, and that, when the border is fairly passed, they seldom occur. This fact tends to the conclusion that the earthworks were not thrown up in prehistoric times, as the result of tribal contests, but that the object in view was to check an invasion from the east.

A vague antiquity is often assigned to these earthworks, because nothing is known of them save their names; but it may well be that many of them were used, if not thrown up, by the Welsh after the Roman occupation, as the recognised mode of defence against an invader. The formation of Offa's dyke, viewing it

only as a boundary line, shows the continuance of the practice, and we know that so late as the thirteenth century earthworks formed in Norman hands an important mode of defence. It has been usual to ascribe one or other of the more remarkable camps on this portion of the Welsh border as the scene of the last struggle of the defeated Britons against the victorious inroad of Ostorius, and much ingenuity has been exercised in the selection of the one which was rendered famous by Caractacus.

Wooded ground, inclosed with an earthen rampart and a ditch, was the distinctive feature, on Cæsar's arrival, of a British oppidum, of which Coxwall Knoll and Creden Hill may be examples,¹ and so continued to be until the Romans had established a peaceable rule in the island, and had become incorporated by association and marriage with the inhabitants of British birth. The camps on the mountain top served rather as places of occasional defence than of permanent residence.

In considering the question whether these border camps were thrown up or occupied merely as defences against a Roman invader, it is well to see how this part of Wales was approached by Roman roads, and what evidence there is of a Roman occupation of the district. For this purpose we may begin with the great road which led from Gobannium (Abergavenny) to Magna (Kenchester) on the left bank of the Wye, and thence northward across Herefordshire in a line, which is sufficiently indicated by its remains and names of places, to Bravinium, or Leintwardine, in the neighbourhood of Coxwall Knoll, and thence by the Strettons to Uriconium, the western continuation of Watling Street. Traces of Roman occupation are found along its course, but not elsewhere on the borders of

¹ Compare Giraldus' account of Welsh habitations at the end of the twelfth century, "Non urbe, non vico, non castris cohabitant, sed quasi solitarii silvis inhærent."—*Descriptio Kambrice*.

Herefordshire and Radnorshire. The only Roman road which traversed Radnorshire led from Caersws through the parish of St. Harmon, and by Bwlch y Sarnau to the large and well-defined Roman camp, known as Castell Collen, on the right bank of the river Ithon, and onwards across the Wye to Builth and Brecon on the one hand, and to Llanfair ar y bryn and Muridunum (Carmarthen) on the other. If the line of entrenchments near the dyke were a defence against a Roman invader, we should expect to meet with a Roman camp, or other traces of Roman occupation, in proximity to it; but there are no such traces on the line of the dyke in Herefordshire. The roads, sites of towns, inscriptions, and other remains, show that the Roman occupation of Wales was as peaceable an one as in other parts of the island.

Between the Saxon and the Welsh an undying hatred prevailed. Each race remained distinct; the Saxon formed no settlement to the west of the dyke, although the result of his continual warfare acquired for him here and there a slight addition of territory over the border.

The line of the dyke will be better understood by a reference to the map than by a verbal description.¹ It will suffice, when the time arrives, to give an account of the Saxon encroachments on the west of it. From the death of Offa in 794 the fortunes of Mercia began to decline, and it soon became, as a kingdom, subordinate to Wessex. A few years after Offa's death Egbert succeeded to the throne of Wessex; he soon began a warfare with the Welsh. After subduing Cornwall he invaded the territory of the Welsh north of the estuary of the Severn, and forced them to pay tribute to him. In 811, he again invaded South Wales, and, in the two following years, he laid it waste from eastward to westward. Another invasion by him is recorded in 828, after he had acquired the kingdom of Mercia, and obtained a supremacy over the Saxons

¹ See the description of it in Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*.

north and south of the Humber. In 836, Burhed, King of Mercia, requested Ethelwulf, the then King of Wessex, to aid him in repressing the incursions of the Welsh. Ethelwulf thereupon led his army across Mercia. Entering South Wales with their combined forces, they forced the Welsh to pay tribute to Burhed. The Welsh annals throw little light on this continual warfare with the Saxon, but they contain a brief admission that, in 822, the district of Powys was subject to Saxon rule.

The result of these victorious inroads would, in the usual course of events lead to an increase of Saxon territory beyond the dyke, as well as payment of tribute; accordingly we find that the dyke in a part of its course ceased to be the boundary of Wales, and that considerable additions were made to Mercia between Knighton and the Wye. Before the end of the ninth century, Ethelred, who married Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred, became ruler of Mercia as Ealdorman, and retained the government of it until his death in 915. The Radnor district appears at this period to have formed a part of Mercia. In 887, Ethelred, by a charter, with Alfred's license, granted lands belonging to the church at Radnor¹ to the see of Worcester, and transferred to the lands of the same church six serfs and their progeny from the royal vill of Bensington as a further donation to the same see. The annexation of Radnor to Mercia at an early period is confirmed by the entry in the Welsh annals that Meredudd ap Owen in 990 laid waste Maes Hyfeid. We may infer that other additions to Mercia, which will be presently mentioned, to the west of the dyke, as far as the left bank of the Wye, were made about the same period, both from an examination of *Domesday Book* and of modern surveys; for there is almost as great an absence of Welsh names of places in the territory so

¹ "Readnora". See Thorpe's *Diplom. Anglic.*, p. 133; Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. i, p. 227.

added as in the older parts of Herefordshire. The obliteration of Welsh names of places seems invariably to have followed Saxon conquest, a fact which becomes more apparent when we compare the adjoining Welsh territory, which soon after the Conquest fell into the hands of the Lords Marchers, and find that in the latter Welsh names of places predominate to the present day. This obliteration of the names of places must have been a work of time; a long continuance of Saxon rule will alone account for such a result. The absence of any record of Welsh tenures or customs, and of Welsh tenants on the left bank of the Wye, is also confirmatory of a long Saxon occupation of the district.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, and even as late as the reign of Edward I,¹ Wigmore, with its castle, appears to have formed the north-western corner of Herefordshire. All that lies to the north of Wigmore and west of Willey, between the rivers Teme and Lug, was part of Shropshire and in the hundred of Leintwardine (*Lenteurde*). Following the line of the dyke from Knighton southward, we find Osbern Fitz Richard Scrupe held, in Leintwardine hundred, Stannage (*Stanege*), Cascop,² and Ackhill (*Achel*). Hugo L'Asne held Knighton (*Chenistetune*), Norton (*Nortune*), and lands in Willey (*Lege*), which in King Edward's time belonged to Leflet; and Ralph de Mortimer held two hides of land in Pilleth (*Pelelei*),³ in the Marches of Wales. Stannage, Norton, and Ackhill, are on the east side of the dyke; Cascob and Pilleth are to the west of it, and the lands so referred to form the detached portion of Herefordshire, now part of the hundred of Wigmore. Osbern Fitz Richard also held Bradley (*Bradelege*), Titley (*Titelege*), Bramton (*Brun-*

¹ Dugdale, referring to Close Rolls, 32 Edward I, states that the manors of Knighton and Pullid, with the hamlet of Akhill, in com. Salop, were, with other possessions, assigned to Margaret, widow of Edmund Lord Mortimer.

² The termination of the names of places in *cop*, in this district, answers to the Anglo-Saxon *cop*, a (mountain) cap or top.

³ "Pullelit", Inq. p. m. H. III; "Pylaley", Lewis Dwnn, vol. i, p. 252.

tune), Knill (*Chenille*), Herrock (*Hercope*), a hill around the summit of which the dyke runs; Harton (*Hertune*), *Hech*, *Clatretune*, probably near Clatterbrook or Presteign, Kinnerton (*Querentune*), Discoyd (*Discote*), and half a hide at Cascob, before mentioned; of these possessions, Harton and Kinnerton form part of the extensive valley of Old Radnor, on the west side of the dyke.¹

The description of them in the Survey is that, "in these 11 manors the land is 36 carucates, but it was and is waste. It never paid geld, it lies in the March of Wales. In these waste lands woods grow, in which Osbern hunts and has what he can take—nothing else". Earl Harold held Radnor (*Radrenove*) and King Edward Womaston (*Ulfelmestune*) in the Radnor valley. Burlinjobb (*Berchelincope*), another township of Old Radnor, was in the king's hands.

The dyke, which crosses the narrow defile near the entrance of Radnor Forest, styled "ruge ditch" in the Survey of Herefordshire, *temp.* Henry III², marks the extreme limit, in this direction, of the Herefordshire of Domesday. It probably continued to be the boundary until New Radnor with Old Radnor was transferred by statute, 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, to form part of the new county of Radnor. Both parishes were from an early period and still are within the diocese of Hereford.

Proceeding along the western side of the dyke we find that King Edward and Earl Harold³ held Kington, with its townships, Hergest (*Hergesth*), Bredward (*Brudeford*), Rushock (*Ruiscop*), Chickward (*Cicwrdine*), and Barton (*Beurtune*), and English Huntington (*Hantinetune*), as distinguished from what was at a later period known as the manor of Welsh Huntington, which included the township of Hengoed and parish of Brunley, or Brilley, where the names of

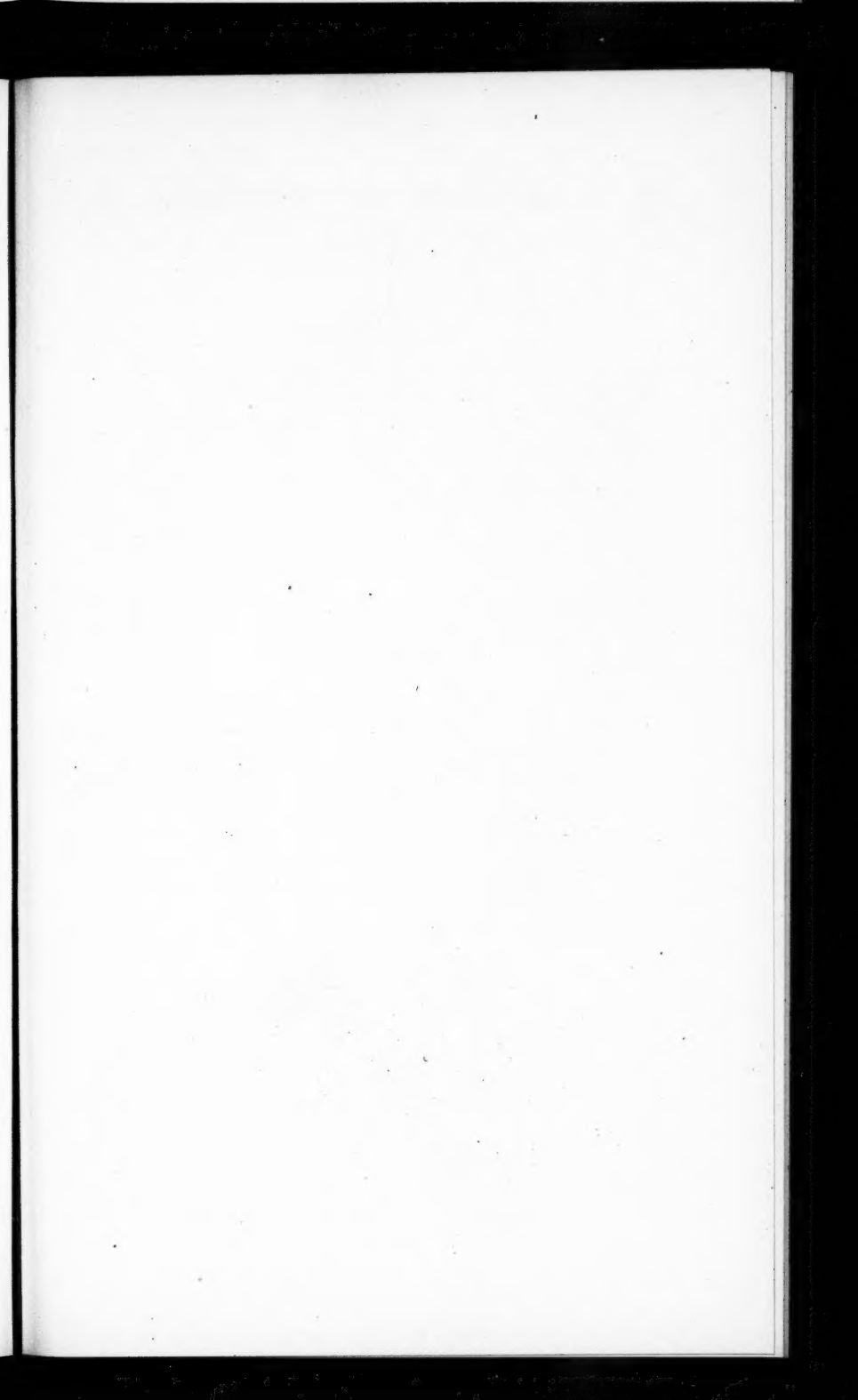
¹ The *Domesday* names of places are printed in italics.

² *Ante*, vol. x, p. 302, 4th Ser.

³ Harold also held land in *Saumgeurdin* and *Burardestune*, which appear to have been in the Radnor or Kington district.

places are for the most part Welsh. Earl Harold also held Lyonshall (*Lenehalle*), a parish through which the dyke runs, having on the west of it a farm called Elsdon (*Elsdune*), the only record of the hundred which bore that name, and comprised the parishes of King-ton, Titley, Lyonshall, Almeley, Letton, Willersley, Winforton, and Whitney; also the manor of *Mateur-din*¹ and *Walelege*,¹ which last Gilbert Fitz Harold held at the time of the Survey. In Walelege was a defensible house and a large wood for hunting. Ralph de Mortimer also held in Elsdune hundred *Ellburge-lega*,¹ which previously belonged to Edric. From the Holme's Marsh in Lyonshall to Upperton all trace of the dyke has disappeared; but, looking at the Map, it is evident that its course ran through the parishes of Almeley (*Elmelie*), held by Roger de Laci of the Church of St. Guthlac, Sarnesfield (*Sarnesfelde*), also part of Earl Rogers' possessions, probably so named from a road branching from Watling Street, which passed through it to the valley of the Wye. Continuing to follow the line of the dyke to the Wye at Bridge Sollers, on the west of it, the parishes or townships of Kinnersley, Hurstley (*Curdeslege*), Norton Canon (*Nortune*), a possession of the church of Hereford, Yazor (*Livesoure*), Yarsop (*Edreshope*), Mansell Gamage (*Malveselle*), which Elfet held of Earl Harold, and Byford (*Buiford*), occur in succession; and, up the valley westward, Staunton (*Standune*), a possession of Earl Leofric's brother Edwin, who was killed in a battle with the Welsh in 1039, Monnington (*Manitune*), another possession of Earl Harold, and afterwards of Ralph de Todeu, Brobury (*Brocheberie*), Letton (*Letune*), Eardisley (*Herdeslege*), Willersley (*Willaeslege*), Winforton (*Widferdestune*), and Whitney (*Witenie*), the westernmost parish on the left bank of the Wye, which Alward held in King Edward's time. Eardisley belonged to Edwin, Earl Leofric's brother, and, on his death, it came to Earl Harold.

¹ I have been unable to identify these.



At the time of the Survey it was, with several other parishes in the valley, in the tenure of Roger de Laci. It is described as free from geld and customary payments, as not lying in any hundred, situated in a wood and as having a defensible house,¹ the site of which is probably indicated by the moated defences of the after Castle of Eardisley; mention is made of a Welsh tenant in this parish, and also in Willersley and Winforton.

It is very uncertain when the large part of Herefordshire on the right bank of the Wye became Saxon territory. Many incursions were doubtless made from time to time across the Wye into Welsh territory from the time of Alfred, if not at an earlier period. According to a traditionary account, the See of Llandaff at one time extended to Moccas² on the Wye, and was gradually reduced by Saxon invasions to narrower limits. During Ethelred's rule of Mercia as Ealdorman, the Kings of Gwent and Brecon submitted themselves to Alfred, and agreed to hold their kingdoms of him as their over-lord on the same terms as Ethelred held Mercia.³ His widow, Ethelfleda, as Lady of Mercia, under her brother, Edward the Elder, must have crossed the river when, in 917, she invaded the Welsh territory with her army, and took by storm a fortress at

¹ It is noteworthy that, while all trace of the castle has disappeared, the site of the earlier fort and its defences remains. Immediately at the back of Eardisley Castle farmhouse is a high circular "motte", protected at its foot, on the west, by a deep and wide ditch, partly filled with water, which was continued eastward at the back of the farm-buildings, towards the turnpike-road. About 30 yards west of the ditch, the intervening space being covered with wood, is a wide trench about 20 feet deep, which serves as a water-course in flood-time. Crossing green sward, 70 yards westward, is a third deep and wide trench, also a water-course, with earth thrown up on its east side as a rampart. The second trench passes under the road to Eardisley Park, and is soon after diverted into the third trench. From the second trench a wide ditch or moat, filled with water, runs on the south of the same road to the churchyard, where it appears to have been filled in. Eardisley was at the time of the survey a border parish.

² *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 374, 422.

³ Asser, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 488.

Brycenamere, probably in the neighbourhood of Llangorse Lake,¹ bringing back into Mercia the wife of the Welsh king and thirty-four of her followers.

Two years later an event occurred which tends to shew that Gwent, although paying tribute, and entitled to the protection of the Saxon king, was still a separate kingdom. A band of Danish pirates who had, nineteen years before, left England, and had since resided in Brittany, returned, and having sailed round Wessex and Cornwall, at last entered the mouth of the Severn; proceeding up the Wye they invaded South Wales, pillaging and destroying all that they met with on their way. Entering Archenfield, the Welsh Ergyng,¹ in the cantred of Gwent Ywchoed and diocese of Llandaff, a district which extended on its northern frontier from the river Dore along the Worm (Guormwy) brook to its source, and thence into Wye, a little above Hom Lacy, and embraced southward the whole of the land enclosed by the rivers Wye and Monnow, they took away captive to their vessels Cyfeliauc, the Bishop of Llandaff, whom King Edward shortly after redeemed for £40 in silver; leaving again their vessels, they ravaged Archenfield, until their progress was arrested by the men of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, who defeated them with great slaughter. On the death of Ethelfleda in 920, her brother Edward assumed the rule of Mercia, and Howel Dda, Cledauc, and Idwal, Kings of Wales, formally acknowledged him as their lord. In 926, Athelstane, King of Wessex and Mercia, compelled the Kings of South Wales to meet him at Hereford, and agreed to pay him a yearly tribute in money and cattle, and he assigned the river Wye as the boundary of his kingdom.³

Little is recorded of the relations of Mercia with South Wales until the accession of Edward the Confessor nearly a century later. Border warfare no doubt

¹ See Jones' *Breconshire*, vol. i, p. 78, in support of Llangorse.

² *Liber Land.*, pp. 374, 546, 582.

³ *William of Malmesbury*, Bohn's ed., p. 134.

continued on the right bank of the Wye; its rich plains, readily accessible from Hereford and tempting to the Saxon, were probably the first addition to Mercia on the Welsh side of the river. The account of this district in the Domesday Survey is slight; the woods and hilly waste ground, which divided it from the valley of the Dore, were probably considered of small account.

The canons of Hereford held lands in Preston (*Pres-tretune*) and Tibberton (*Tibrintintune*), which were waste in King Edward's time; also Eaton Bishop (*Etune*), a manor previously of Earl Harold. The manor of Kingston (*Chingestone*), which occupied a larger territory than the modern parish of that name, holds the prominent position. It formed part of the royal demesne in the time of King Edward and of the Survey; it contained a wood called Triveline, frequently mentioned as the Royal Forest of Trivel or Treville¹ in early records, which rendered no custom but that of hunting; the only service of the villains, who dwelt there in King Edward's reign, was to carry the game to Hereford. We gain a greater notion of its importance when we find it recorded that prior to the Conquest some of its land was let out on rent to the ship-wealas, or Welsh navigators, and that twenty-one cytweras (weirs or places for taking fish) on the Severn, and twelve cytweras on the Wye, belonged to it.² Land in Cusop (Cheweshop) near Hay was held with it, and was subject to the custom of the manor. Clifford, one of the outposts on the Welsh border, was in the tenure of Bryning, who was Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1038.

From the valley of the Wye, near Middlewood, a

¹ The forest of Trevel, according to an extent taken 15 John, contained 2,014 acres, and extended from Kingston to the river Dore. Much of it was open or cleared land. It had its Stradelgate. Part of it, between the Dore and Trivel brook, was disforested, and granted to Dore Abbey by King John and Henry III. (*Close Rolls*, vol. i, pp. 165, 398.)

² Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. i, p. 320.

stream ran southward until it joined the Monnow near Pontrilas, along a valley which separated the Kingston district from Ewyas. The Dore, or Dour, like many other rivers, has preserved its Celtic name, notwithstanding the changes in the name of its valley; first, by the Saxon, from Ystrad Dour to Stradel, and, at a later period, from an erroneous translation of the Celtic name of the river, to Golden Valley, the name it now bears. In *Domesday* the valley is called Stradelie, and formed the hundred of Stradel; although it has lost its Saxon name, a trace of it still survives in Monnington Stradel. In this valley, at the date of the Survey, the canons of Hereford held lands, and Walter, Bishop of Hereford, one hide, which had been laid waste in King Edward's time. Roger de Laci held Bacton (*Bachetune*) and *Wadetun*, previously possessions of Edwin and Alward, in which were resident three Welshmen, yielding three sextaries of honey; *Elnodestune*, perhaps Snodhill, and Dorstone (*Edwardestune*). William de Scohies held Poston (*Poscetentune*), formerly in the tenure of Edwin. Alfred of Marlborough held Monington (*Manetune*) and *Brocheurdie*, previously part of the possessions of Earl Harold; in the latter there was one Welshman. Gilbert Fitz Turoid held Bach (*Becca*). In it were eight Welshmen, who held two carucates of land, subject to a render of a hawk and two dogs; also Harewood (*Harewde*), of which Edwin was previous owner; and Middlewood (*Midewde*), formerly Earl Harold's—all woodland. Gilbert also held 112 carucates of arable land in the valley, and paid geld. Hugo L'Asne held *Beltrov* and *Ulvetone*, both waste; Wilmastone (*Wilmestune*) and *Alcamestune*, formerly in the tenure of Leflet, and *Almundestune*, of which Alward was the previous possessor; in the last there were a priest and a church. These particulars are given in order to show that the Saxons had a firm hold of this valley.

The acquisition of the remaining part of Herefordshire will be best understood by a short relation of

events in South Wales. About the year 1046, dissensions arose between Griffith ap Ryderch, King of South Wales, and Griffith ap Llewelyn, King of North Wales, which led to warfare in the vale of Towy. In the autumn of 1049, Irish pirates, with thirty-six vessels, entered the mouth of the Severn, directing their course up the river Usk, whence, with the aid of Griffith ap Ryderch, they plundered the country around, and then with their combined forces crossed the Wye, burnt Dymedham, which cannot be identified, and put to the sword all whom they found there. Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, with a few men of the counties of Worcester and Hereford, tried to check their onward progress, but the Welsh, who formed part of the bishop's force, secretly sent messengers to Griffith, advising him to attack the English speedily. Griffith and his Irish allies availed themselves of the intelligence, and, falling suddenly on the English, put them to flight, killing many of them; the rest, with the bishop, escaped. As Herefordshire men formed part of his force, we may infer that the invaders crossed the Wye into that county, previously passing through Archenfield, then probably part of Mercia, on their way from the river Usk.

In 1052, Griffith, the North Wales king, laid waste a large part of Herefordshire. In the neighbourhood of Leominster, the men of the county, aided by the Normans of a neighbouring castle, probably Richard's Castle, encountered him, but Griffith gained a decisive victory, and returned with much plunder.

In the early part of the next year, Rhys, brother of the South Wales king, was, on account of his frequent depredations at Bulendun, slain by order of King Edward, and his head was taken to the king at Gloucester.

In 1055, King Edward, on the advice of his Council, banished Earl Algar, son of Earl Leofric. Algar immediately went to Ireland; returning soon with eighteen vessels, he sought the aid of Griffith of North Wales against King Edward. Griffith, who had a short time

before killed Griffith of South Wales, collected a large army from the whole of his kingdom, and ordered that Algar should meet him at a place from which they might together lay waste the border and enter Herefordshire. The timid Earl Ralph, King Edward's nephew, who then as earl, or in some other capacity, had the charge of the county, assembled an army and met the Irish and Welsh forces on the 24th of October, two miles from Hereford. He gave orders to his men to fight on horseback, contrary to their usual habit. The adoption of this plan and their leader's irresolution caused a panic among his followers, who fled, with the earl at their head, before a spear was thrown, and were pursued by the enemy with a great slaughter. Griffith and Algar after their victory entered Hereford and, having killed the seven canons who defended the doors, burnt the Cathedral, which Bishop Athelstane had erected, sacked the city, killed some of the citizens, made others captives, and returned to Wales with their prisoners and much booty. On receiving intelligence of the event, the king ordered a large army to be assembled at Gloucester, and gave the command of it to Earl Harold, who immediately followed Griffith and Algar, entered the Welsh territory, and encamped beyond Stradel, in the district of Ewias. The Irish and Welsh force, dreading the skill and prowess of Harold, did not dare to encounter him, but fled into South Wales. Harold thereupon dismissed the greater part of his forces, and returning to Hereford with the remainder, caused a wide ditch with a high rampart to be made around the city. Meanwhile, overtures for peace arrived from the enemy. Griffith and Algar met Harold at Billingsley¹ in Shropshire, where terms of peace were made, which probably provided for the addition of Ewias, and established the present boundary of the county of Hereford on that part of the Welsh border.

In the month of February following, Bishop Athel-

¹ "Billigsleaga", Flor. Wig.; "Biligsley", *A.-S. Chron.*

stane died. He was succeeded in the bishopric by Leofgar, the mass priest of Earl Harold, "who forsook his chrism and his rood, his ghostly weapons, and took to the spear and the sword after his bishophood". Dissatisfied with the terms of peace, and anxious to acquire fresh territory in the valley of the Wye, Leofgar renewed the warfare with the Welsh, and, encountering Griffith in battle, was killed at Glasbury¹ on the 16th June 1056. Many of his clergy, Elnoth, the sheriff of the county, and many others of his followers, were slain in this engagement.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* adds, "it is difficult to tell the distress, and all the marching and camping, and the travail and destruction of men and horses, which all the English army endured, until Leofric the Earl came thither, and Harold the Earl, and Bishop Aldred, and made a reconciliation between them; and Griffith swore oaths that he would be to King Edward a faithful and unbetraying under-king."

This peace settled definitively the boundary on the right bank of the Wye, and probably restored to Griffith some of the territory which Leofgar had seized, for, in King John's reign, the town of Hay received a charter in recognition of the liberties which it enjoyed in the time of Edward the Confessor.

Ewyas, styled by the Welsh, in connection with Ystradyw, as one of "the two real sleeves of Ergyng",² was separated from Ystradyw³ by the lateral spurs and vallies which run eastward from the range of the Black Mountains. Ewyas occupied the eastern slopes of the range, and extended to the Golden Valley; its Welsh boundary ran for some distance along the ridge of the mountain. It now forms the hundred of Ewias Lacy. Its addition to Herefordshire deprived the Welsh of a district which afforded them a ready road for inva-

¹ Clastbyrig (Flor. Wig.), a name which suggests that he may have thrown up a fortified "burh" there.

² *Liber Land.*, p. 512.

³ "Tretour and Creghowel stand in Estrodewe hundred." (Le-land, *Itinerary*, vol. v, fo. 69.

sion, and a readier road of retreat, on account of the broken and hilly nature of the ground.

To strengthen the defence of the border, the Conqueror, in the early part of his reign, built the Castle of Monmouth,¹ of which, at the time of the *Survey*, William Fitz-Baderon had the custody. In furtherance of the same object, William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, granted to Walter de Lacy the castlery of Ewias, which embraced the larger part of the district, and at the time of the *Survey* had descended to his son Roger, who also held a detached portion of it ("in fine Ewias") known as Fwddog, extending along the eastern slope of the valley of Gwyrneu vawr, which did not belong to the castlery or any hundred, and which returned to him, "when men are there", fifteen sextaries of honey and fifteen swine. In the castlery were four Welsh tenants occupying a carucate of land at a render of two sextaries of honey. In it Henry de Ferrers had three churches with a priest, and thirty-two acres of land. He had also two dwellings in the Castle. The King also confirmed to Alfred of Marlborough, William Fitz-Osbern's grant to him of the Castle of Ewias (afterwards known as Ewias Harold,² from its after-owner, Harold, son of Earl Ralph), which Alfred had restored, and the lands belonging to the Castle, of which his seven knights (*milites*) at the time of the *Survey* held a large part. On the demesne lands of the Castle³ there were, among other occupiers, nine Welshmen holding six carucates of land at a render of seven sextaries of honey.

The Castle of Clifford, with its castlery, estimated at twenty-seven carucates, extending along the right bank of the Wye, completed the defence of this part of the Welsh border. It was held in chief by Ralph de To-den. Among his tenants, the names of Gilbert the

¹ *Liber Land.*, p. 549.

² See Mr. Fowle's paper, *Arch. Camb.*, 1868; and Mr. Clark's description of the Castle, 4th Series, vol. viii, p. 116.

³ Leland states that the lordship of Ewias Harold was a mile in breadth, and about two miles in length. (Vol. viii, fo. 83a.)

Sheriff and Roger de Lacy occur. Among other inhabitants, mention is made of sixteen burgesses and five Welshmen.

Of the later additions to the county, Archenfield alone remained comparatively unchanged by Saxon rule. In the Confessor's reign it was inhabited by a population half Welsh and half Saxon, and governed by laws and customs peculiarly its own. The Welsh language was spoken there until a late period, and its parishes, dwellings, and families, still retain their Welsh names.¹ An account of its customs follows those of the city of Hereford in the *Survey*. It will suffice to mention those that are remarkable. The King had three churches, the priests of which acted as the king's ambassadors in Wales. On the death of one of them the king had 20s. A Welshman stealing a man, woman, horse, or cattle, restored, on conviction, the property stolen, and forfeited a sum in money. Any one who killed a vassal of the king, gave to the king 20s. for the man, and forfeited 100s. ; but if the man killed was the vassal of a thane, 10s. to the dead man's lord,—a custom differing from the Saxon "wergild", which was payable to the slain's next of kin. If a Welshman slew a Welshman, the relatives met and plundered the slayer and his kinsmen, and burnt their houses, until noon on the morrow, when the burial took place ; and of the plunder, the king had a third. A man accused of setting fire to a house could defend himself by forty men, or pay 20s. to the king. The men of the district, in time of war, formed the vanguard of the king's army on its march against the enemy, and the rearguard on its return. Riset of Wales rendered to the king £40.

These were the customs of the district generally ; other customs are mentioned as incident to the tenure of lands within it. The King had in Archenfield, at the time of the *Survey*, ninety-six men, who had with their men sixty-three carucates of land, and yielded to

¹ See the Rev. John Webb's preface to Bishop Swinfield's Roll, p. cxlix et seq. (Camden Soc.)

him by custom forty-one sextaries of honey, and 20s. as a composition for the sheep which they were wont to give by custom, and 10s. for fumage (a chimney-tax); but they were free from geld and other customs, except military service. The king was also entitled, on the death of a freeman, to his horse with his arms; on the death of a villain, to his ox.

No account could be given of the state of this land in the Confessor's time, because Griffith, King of North Wales, and Bleddyn his brother, had laid it waste. A short account of the other villis and lands in Archenfield follows. It is difficult to identify any names of places with existing names. *Chipeeete* is considered to represent Kilpeck on the northern frontier of the district. The limits of this paper will not admit of a detailed description; but it may suffice to say that all the lands mentioned were held by Saxons, among whom the name of Earl Harold occurs, and that at the time of the *Survey* they were divided between Gilbert Fitz-Turolde, William Fitz-Norman, Alfred of Marlborough, and Roger de Lacy; and that the render of sextaries of honey, and occasionally of sheep, with a small sum in money, was an incident of their tenure.

It remains to explain how the see of Llandaff lost its rights in Ergyng and Ewias. Both continued to form part of the diocese without dispute, under the rule of Bishop Herwald, during the Conqueror's reign and afterwards; but as the Bishop grew old, and the Norman invasions of South Wales proceeded, advantage was taken of the Bishop's age and infirmity to deprive the see of Llandaff of many of its possessions, and to annex Ergyng to the see of Hereford, and Ewias to the see of St. David's.¹

Herwald's successor, Urban, who was consecrated in 1108, preferred a complaint to Pope Calixtus II of the invasions of his territory and diocese by the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's, which led to the issuing of a Bull in 1119, directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury,

¹ *Liber Land.*, pp. 550, 555.

commanding that justice might be done to the church of Llandaff. We may collect that the Archbishop's decision was unfavourable, from the fact of Urban's appeal to Honorius II, and journies to Rome, where the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's were twice invited by the Pope to come and answer his complaint. They failed to come, and after hearing from Urban's witnesses that Bishop Herwald had held them for forty years, the Pope, on the 14th of April 1129, adjudged the districts in dispute to belong to the see of Llandaff. Shortly after Urban's departure, Bernard Bishop of St. David's arrived in Rome with his witnesses. Urban was summoned to again attend in the following year to answer the matters alleged by Bernard, and also about Ewyas and Talybont. The hearing was adjourned by Innocent II for three years, on Urban's representation that he was weighed down by sickness, old age, and poverty, and therefore unable to undertake a third journey. Urban's death, on his way to Rome, in 1133, put a stop to the appeal. No decision was given, and the see of Llandaff never recovered its lost rights. Archenfield continued ever after to be part of the see of Hereford, and Ewyas to be part of the see of St. David's, until it was transferred in 1852, by an Order in Council, to the see of Hereford.

R. W. B.

Seeing in Mr. Havergal's *Fasti Herefordenses*, that the boundary of the diocese of Hereford was described in a book known as the *Mundy Gospels*, in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, I wrote to the Librarian of the College, Mr. R. A. Neil, who very obligingly answered my inquiry as follows:

"In the *Mundy Gospels* there is a page of Anglo-Saxon writing at the beginning of the book which gives the boundary on the east of the diocese of Hereford. It is in writing, according to Mr. Bradshaw, the University Librarian, contemporary with Bishop Athelstane. With Mr. Bradshaw's assistance I have made out the

meaning of it, except that I cannot identify all the places mentioned with places on the map. I enclose a copy of the page (in English characters) with explanations :”

“Hanc discretionem fecit Æthestan^{us} [*sic*] episcopus.

“Ðus ligh þ bisceoprice into Hereforda of Munuwi muðan
 Thus lieth the from Monmouth
 up and lang Saeferne to Mynster Worðige . of Mynster Wordige
 Minsterworth
 in Doddes aesc . of Doddes æsc in Ceolan heafdan . of Ceolan
 Dodd's Ash Chillinghead or some such form
 heafdan in Maelfern . and lang Maelfern in tha Stycinge . of
 thare Stycince in Temede . up on lang Temede . in Stanfordes
 R. Teme Stanford
 brycege . of Stanfordes brycege . in Maertleages ecge ondland ecge .
 bridge Martley's Edge
 in Caredune . of Caredune in Eardigtun . of Eardigtune eft in
 back
 Saefern in Quattford.”

In reading this description it will be borne in mind that the see of Gloucester was created in the reign of Henry VIII. Comparing this account of the boundary with the grant of Henry II to Roger Earl of Hereford (see *Arch. Camb.*, vol. xii, 4th Series, p. 332), a notion is suggested that Ceolan Heafden may be identical with Cilteham, on the other side of Severn, in the grant, and so with Cheltenham.

FURTHER NOTICES OF THE EARLY IN- SCRIBED STONES OF SOUTH WALES.

I HAVE been favoured by Mrs. Emily Allen, of Connaught Square, London, with the sight of some early drawings of Pembrokeshire inscribed stones, amongst which are two not hitherto published. These drawings are stated to have been made in March 1792 for Allen's *History of Wales*, and Allen's *History of Pembrokeshire*, books which, I believe, were never published. The drawings were originally in the possession

of Mr. Williams of Ivy Tower, near Tenby, at whose sale they were purchased, with a large collection of sketches, by Mr. Mason of Tenby, the former publisher of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, who allowed Mrs. E. Allen to copy the inscriptions. Amongst them is a fair copy of the Curcagnus stone (*Lapidarium Walliæ*, Plate XLV, fig. 3), which is stated to have been found "on one of the mountains in the upper part of Wales".

Another of the drawings represents a duplicate of the Carew Cross inscription (*Lap. Wall.*, plate LVII, p. 120), which is stated to have been "taken from a stone on the top of Carew Castle. There is also near the turnpike-gate of Carew an antique cross, which has the same inscription on one of its compartments". Does this stone still exist at the top of Carew Castle? or is it the identical duplicate stone now at Fethard Castle, Ireland? See also Graves, in *Arch. Camb.*, 1879, p. 226. It would be curious that three copies of this inscription should have been made.

A third of these drawings is copied in the accompanying woodcut, representing a stone "found at a place called Stoneditch, near the town of Narberth".



R C F A Z I U Z
 S Z A C A Z -

I cannot precisely decipher the inscription, of which the letters appear to have been carelessly copied. Is

the second line intended for STACATI, or does the inscription terminate with the word IACET? It is to be hoped that some of our Pembrokeshire correspondents will be able to rediscover and send us a rubbing of this hitherto unpublished stone, as well as to give us some information on Allen's *History of Pembrokeshire*, above alluded to.

I. O. WESTWOOD.

THE INNER WALL OF SHREWSBURY.

"SALOPIA URBS est in confinio Cambriæ & Angliæ super Sabrinam in vertice collis posita, quæ Anglice vocatur Schrobbesburia, a dumis & fructibus in illo colle aliquando crescentibus sic dicta. Britannice vero vocatur Penguern, quod sonat Caput abietis & fuit aliquando caput Powisiæ terræ, quæ se extendit per transversum mediæ Walliæ usque ad mare Hibernicum." (Higden, *Polychronicon*, lib. i, circa A.D. 1350.)

From this short description, which doubtless embodies the view of still earlier times, we may fairly gather that the city of Shrewsbury (*Salopia urbs*) did not extend much, if at all, beyond the crest (*vertex*) of the hill on which three of the principal ecclesiastical buildings now stand. If it had occupied a larger area, a chronicler like Higden (who probably was personally acquainted with a city within forty miles of his convent) would not have used the words, "in vertice collis posita", placed on the crest of a hill. If this be borne in mind, the inferences, which the following facts seem to warrant, will be more readily admitted, and, as additional information is from time to time acquired, the subject will be carried on to greater detail.

Some three years ago my attention was directed to very considerable remains of a wall at the back of some houses in the High Street (those numbered 10, 11, and 12). The same remains are noticed in the account given, by the Rev. W. A. Leighton, of the Deanery

of St. Alkmund. Careful examination of the adjoining properties seemed to indicate that these remains, whether they did or did not form one boundary wall of the deanery, were the best preserved portions of a much longer wall, which extended south-east and north-west across the city (or rather across the present town) far beyond the limits of any deanery, and may have formed, and very probably did form, part of an original defence of the city which, in very early times, occupied, as Higden intimates, no more than the crest of the hill.

That this wall was ever part of an inner wall, dividing the city into two unequal portions, can scarcely be believed, because such a wall would not have been built along a declivity so as to allow the lower portion to be dominated by the upper. It is now, indeed, an inner wall, and so I shall designate it; but originally it must have been an outer defence. Nor could it have been a wall dividing the city into wards, for it is not now in any part of it a ward limit, but is included in two of the wards, the bank house (No. 6, High Street) being upon the dividing line.

If we could believe that the Romans, or their successors, sometimes designated Romano-Britons, had any hand in the laying out of the earliest settlement on this peninsula, such a line of defence would be in exact accordance with their practice, which was to make their ramparts follow the outlines of the hills on which the fortified camp or city stood. "It is frequently intimated in the ancient authors", says the Rev. Richard Burgess, in his book on the *Topography and Antiquities of Rome*, that the old walls continued with the outlines of the hills, for, in this manner, according to ancient tactics, the city would be more effectually fortified"; and, in support of this assertion, he proceeds to quote a passage from Pliny's *Natural History*. But be this as it may, no one will deny that "in this manner the city would be more effectually fortified".

All our historians are agreed that the very first defence of the position which Shrewsbury now covers

was a wall or rampart across the isthmus, on either side, from the height where the castle stands to the river. In course of time, however (if not at the very first settlement of the place), further protection was required. Either previous friends became hostile, or old enemies found means to get across the natural defence which the river supplies, and so the inhabitants were compelled to construct a rampart, or even a stone wall, along the declivity of the hill, on the crest of which their dwellings were placed, and it may safely be asserted that, if they did so with any regard to the configuration of the ground and the extent of the inhabited area, they could not have carried it along any other line than the one where palpable remains of a wall are still to be seen.

The river, which in winter, for the most part, would be impassable, became at other times fordable in more places than one, and at all seasons the river circuit was too long to be efficiently guarded by two or three hundred able-bodied burgesses, some of whom must always have kept watch and ward at the isthmus in time of danger.

This second wall or rampart (for that across the isthmus, whether it were or were not earlier in date may be reckoned as the first), need not have been very high or very elaborately constructed; the existing remains, indeed, of the wall, if my inferences are correct, do not lead us to suppose that it was anything like so well built as the wall of later date around the present town, but only sufficient to hold in check such foes as might have got across the river unobserved.

The area enclosed by these first defences would resemble an oblong trapezium with four unequal sides, the isthmus forming one side, the line from the isthmus to the angle of the declivity westward, about the middle of Pride Hill, making the second; the third being from thence to the top of the Wyle, and the fourth from that point to the isthmus again. Gates, entrances or posterns, there must have been in the

third portion, at Pride Hill, Grope Lane, Fish Street, and Dogpole. (The use of modern designations is unavoidable.) No remains of these entrances, indeed, now exist above ground, and it is difficult to search beneath the surface; yet, under the shop front of the house at the end of Fish Street, where it joins the High Street, there is a piece of old wall forming the segment of a circle which may have belonged to a gate or barbican.

Of the first and last of these four sides little or nothing need be said, as their position is unquestioned; nor need I say much about the second, except that part of it which borders upon the third. These three sides are, for the most part, coincident with the walls which are acknowledged to have been always outer defences. The second side, however, has, in that part at least which borders upon the third, some features which are very interesting. *Two* walls are found running nearly parallel at a distance of about eight yards. The outer, and, as I infer, the more modern one, is of dressed freestone of excellent quality, and the inner one of softer, more friable, and more highly coloured sandstone, not regularly dressed nor so carefully put together. Whether two walls are found on the north-east portion of this side of the trapezium I am unable to decide, for I have not examined the ground, nor do I know, for the same reason, whether there is more than one wall on the fourth side.

At the angle formed by the second and third sides, about halfway down Pride Hill, these two walls project some five or six yards beyond the general line, and a small tower of 10 or 12 feet square projects still more. Here then, probably, on account of its being an angle, there was some building sufficient for the accommodation of a large number of defenders, and outside this building may still be seen a broad flight of stone steps leading to the ditch at the foot of the declivity. From this angle begins that third side of the trapezium which forms the inner wall.

The first remains of this inner wall are found in a

cellar beneath the house No. 10 Pride Hill, and they accord with the description of the materials which I have already given. On the opposite side of the street the old wall forms the boundary of Mr. Gough's property for some 70 or 80 yards, and where this property ends there is a projection beyond the line of the wall which may indicate a tower or turret. Beyond this, in the same general direction, about 70 or 80 yards farther on—the distance is uncertain, for measurements are well nigh impossible—but within 20 yards of Grope Lane, are the foundations of a similar small tower. On the south-east side of Grope Lane, the remains of the wall following the general line are quite distinct; it is nearly perfect at the spot where I first observed it, where, as I have said, the Rev. W. A. Leighton locates the deanery of St. Alkmund, but beyond that it makes a sharp turn to the westward for five or six yards, and then takes a course parallel to its former one, if it does not, as I strongly suspect, pass back to the same original line after encompassing three sides of a parallelogram; and, if this be the case, here may have been another large fortification. There are, however, no means of proving this point, for no remains of the other two sides are left above ground, and the old foundations, to be seen in the cellars of the dwellings, are not sufficiently distinct to warrant a positive statement. We now come to Fish Street, but here the alterations of level and contour are so misleading, that we can only gather the direction of the wall from its having for ages limited the properties on either side, and from some vestiges in a vault or cellar, partly under the street, and partly under a warehouse. A line of old wall, however, does run from this point down the side of the street until it joins the segment to which I have before referred.

The present church of St. Julian is either built on both sides of the line of the wall, or itself occupies the site of a fortification which projected beyond the line. At the back of the Medical Hall, and the neighbouring shops

on the top of the Wyle, the wall is well preserved. It is several feet high, and forms, as elsewhere, the boundary of properties; hence the direction of the wall looks across Dogpole (where we have supposed there was a gate or postern) to the place where it forms, with the fourth side of the trapezium, a right angle. At this place, indeed, there is strong proof of this inner wall having once formed the outer defence of the city. The wall coming up from the Stone Bridge makes, with the wall on the fourth side, a figure which may be likened to a capital T; while the third and fourth sides form an angle, as though the letter T had, upon the left bar of the cross piece, a perpendicular erected; a connection which, unless my inferences are admitted, is inexplicable. Of the fourth side nothing need be said; the wall exists almost unbroken, and is unquestioned.

The first proof on which I rely of this inner wall having been an outer defence, is found in the difference of elevation of the properties on either side of it. The level of the upper town is from 8 to 12 feet above that of the lower; and if we suppose the inner wall to have had a breastwork or parapet in addition, it would have formed no contemptible obstacle to an invader. Another strong proof arises, as I have already intimated, from its bounding tenements and properties on either side. It is, moreover, nowhere broken through, except where, in quite modern times, tenements on the lower side have been enlarged by the acquisition of space on the higher, to which access is had by a flight of steps, or by breaking away the wall (as was done at No. 8, High Street), and removing the earth so as to make the levels alike. In the main stretch of this inner wall, between Pride Hill and Grope Lane, there are no breaches of continuity whatever, nor between Grope Lane and the Bank Passage, except where, as I have stated above, it was broken through a few years ago to enlarge the premises at No. 8.

When *Domesday Book* was compiled, it is evident

that the area of Shrewsbury was very much less than it is at present, or has been for three or four hundred years past ; but small as it was comparatively, it could not have been left without defence against the inroads of the British. There were then two hundred and fifty-two houses, which would not have occupied an area larger than that afforded by the crest of the hill, unless they had been very large houses indeed, which we know they were not. The rest of the peninsula was cultivated by the citizens or grazed by their cattle. This additional area, however, in course of time, as the population increased, was needed for more dwellings. The citizens required more building room, and the ground occupied by the gardens and fields of their forefathers furnished sites for their mansions and courtyards. Wood and wattle were in numerous instances superseded by stone, until the rest of the peninsula above flood-level was more or less occupied by dwellings of one sort or another, so as to form a suburb more than commensurate with the original city. This enlargement, we may suppose, took place in " piping times of peace "; but when the " tramp of war steeds " again was heard, it became absolutely necessary to find some defence for this important suburb, and so a wall was resolved upon : a mighty undertaking as it proved, for they not merely determined to surround the new and lower town with fortifications calculated to withstand methods of warfare then in vogue, but to supersede the old wall on the second, and it may be fourth, side as well. This new wall had its own gates and posterns, was connected with the two bridges, and was built, as I have said, in better style, and with better material, than the old one, which now becoming obsolete, especially on the third side, would only serve as a quarry when stones were required for public or even private erections.

Time has revenged itself upon the *new* wall. It, too, has in places been swept away ; only one tower remains, and no gate or postern, excepting that at the foot of

St. Mary Waterlode, and a small postern at the back of No. 15, Pride Hill, of which only sufficient remains to shew its character. By the side of this postern, as though to make amends for its mutilation, is a very perfect embrasure, now converted into a window, which by its architecture indicates the date of the new wall. Further eastward, down the seventy steps' passage, a doorway with a semicircular heading leads into a large vaulted room between the old and new walls, which is lighted by two very perfect embrasures.

The only objection of any weight to the inferences I have drawn, arises from the positions of the palace of Pengwern Powis (which we know existed in British times) and the collegiate church of St. Chad: these were outside the walls of the upper town. The palace, however, would have had its own defences; and religious buildings were, for the most part, privileged. In any case the church and college would have been in no greater danger from a barbarous foe than the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was also outside the fortifications of the town.

I may be permitted to record my conviction that careful excavations would reveal the foundations of a fortification at the south-east end of Fish Street, possibly occupying part of St. Julian's churchyard, similar to that of which the lower stories remain at the angle formed by the second and third sides of the upper town on Pride Hill. The ground, however, is so cumbered with buildings that we may not hope, unless something very unusual should clear them all away, to have the conviction verified.

It will have been observed that I have purposely abstained from assigning any date for the erection of the inner wall. It, or a rampart which it superseded, was, no doubt, put up in very early times, anterior to the coming of the Normans, and very probably anterior to the coming of the Saxons.

Others, with greater historical and local knowledge, may be induced to take up this interesting subject,

and trace bit by bit the walls and fortifications of old Shrewsbury. They will have very soon the large-scale map of the new Ordnance Survey to help them, and to serve as a test of their and my conclusions. My object will be gained if the facts I have recorded are found to throw even the least light upon the ancient condition of that city which in monkish, doggerel Latin verse was styled "Pengwern quæ nunc Salopia."

C. H. DRINKWATER, M.A.

St. George's Vicarage, Shrewsbury.

THE LUSTLEIGH STONE.

MR. BURCH has been again to Lustleigh, when his attention was called to the fact that the second line as well as the first ends in a c, though, in the former case, it is very faint. He has kindly sent me a rubbing,



which I enclose, and in which the letter is easily perceived. I hope our excellent artist will be able to give us a second edition of his drawing with the c inserted. I am exceedingly sorry there should be occasion for it. The reading will now be

DETTUIDOC CONHINOC

and most of what I have said about the formula of the inscription is to be cancelled by the reader.

JOHN RHYS.

A LOST CHURCH.

IN the autumn of 1880 I was invited by Colonel Lambton to assist in opening a tumulus close to his residence at Brownslade, in the parish of Warren, Pembrokeshire. The farm on which this tump stands is known as Bullibur, a corruption, perhaps, of Pwll y Pyr (Pyr's Bay); if so, this must once have been the name of Fraynes Lake Bay, which bounds the farm on one side, and is within a short distance of the tump. There is on the shore of the bay another small tumulus, which was opened by Colonel Lambton; he found in it a kistvaen inclosing a female skeleton, with a fine brachycephalic skull, and fragments of pottery of the usual type, enclosed in round barrows of the bronze period. Not far from this second tumulus there is a strongly fortified camp, in the ditches of which Colonel Lambton has found well made pottery, and the bones of large oxen; the latter proving it to have been occupied in post-Roman times, as this people and their predecessors in Britain used the small long-faced cattle. But as the Fraynes Lake burrows are strewn with flint chips, probably a prehistoric people were the constructors of the camp.

The mythical Pyr gave his name to Maen y Pyr or Manor Bier; and Caldy Island,¹ in former days, was known as Inys y Pur. As to the date of this Kymrig hero, the late Mr. Stephens,² writing of the *Mabinogion*, in which he is a prominent personage, says:

"It is not easy to fix a date for these tales; perhaps they are not, in their present shape, older than the twelfth century; but they were evidently in circulation years, if not centuries, before. In the earlier tales of

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary*, chap. ii.

² Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 414.

Kymric origin the machinery is invariably supernatural. The *Mabinogion* of Pwyll, etc., are evidences of this. The moving power is seldom, indeed we may say never, personal courage, but invariably magic". This Mr. Stephens deems a sure proof of antiquity as well as Kymric origin ; so the Pwyll myth (in which Pyr is one of the actors) would seem to be one of the oldest of our Welsh stories. It seems strange that this should have survived in the nomenclature of Anglia trans Walliam, where all remembrance of historic Welsh days is lost.¹

Having this old tale in mind, I was particularly gratified by an invitation to help in opening the tump at Bullibur. Visions of Pyr sitting up in a kistvaen, crowned and jewelled, with his regalia around him, passed through my head. We failed to find the hero or his regalia, but we did make some discoveries which may, perhaps, interest the readers of our *Journal*. The tump stands in a sandy field known as "Church ways", on the edge of the burrows ; it is circular, with a diameter of 75 feet, and rather flat, not being raised more than some eight feet in the centre. From its shape and construction a careless observer would pass it by as one of those natural hillocks of blown sand which abound on the burrows in the neighbourhood ; but, on closer inspection, the surface is found to be strewn with bones, mostly human, which the rabbits have thrown out from their holes. We commenced operations on the south-eastern side, where the bones seemed thickest, and found that this portion of the barrow consists of blown sand, in which skeletons of men, women, and children, are packed in tiers at least three deep, like pigeons in a pie. Some of the bodies were protected by an inclosure of long water-worn stones about the size of ninepins, but without any

¹ My dear old friend, the Rev. G. Smith, late Rector of Gurfreston, used to say he was once told that "King Longhand" used to hold court at Lydstep. This must have referred to Aircol Law Hir, another member of the Pwyll family ; and it seems to me that Bull-Slaughter Bay takes its name from Pwll y Llaw Hir, or Longhand's Bay.

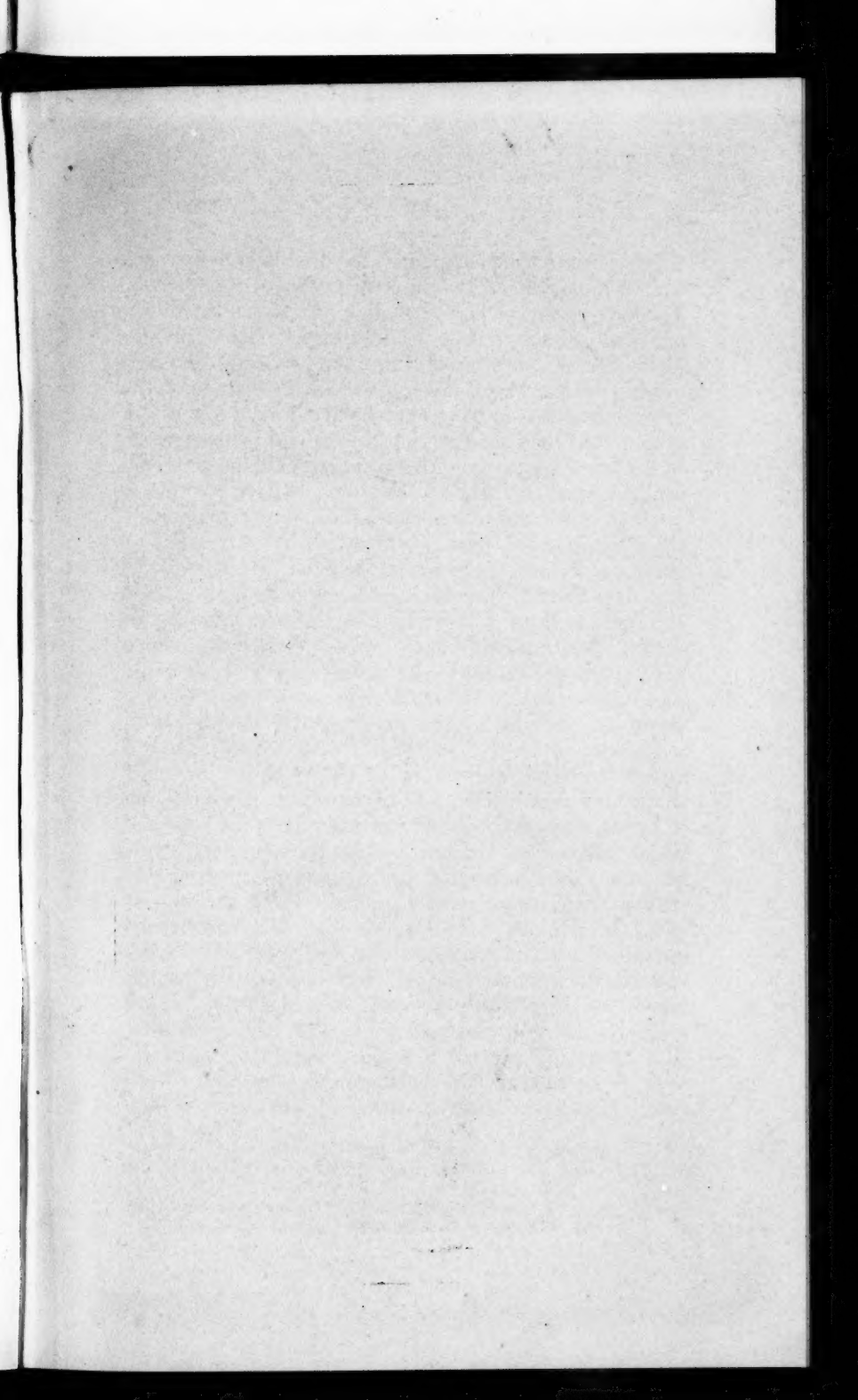




Fig. 1.—One-third actual size.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.—One-third actual size.

OBJECTS FOUND NEAR BROWNSLADE, PEMBROKESHIRE.

covering; others lay in the bare sand; they were all oriented. With these bones we found a piece of fine bronze (see Pl., fig. 2), which might have been an earring, or a finger ring, I think the former; and a small brass ring with a rude pattern of spots pounced on it (fig. 3). On the following day, a small stoup, roughly hewn out of a block of red sandstone, 14 inches by 8, was found in this part of the tumulus. Mixed with the human bones were small quantities of bones of oxen (*bos longifrons*), and sheep or goats, with a few limpet-shells, and a flint flake; but as these occur on the burrows, it might be accidental.

We then laid bare a place rather to the north of where we had been digging hitherto, and found a skeleton oriented, and surrounded by made ground [clay] and rough, dry masonry, but without any covering.¹ With this body there was a horse's nipper, a calf's tooth, and the jaw of a sheep or goat, with some shells of oyster, and limpet.

By this time we had accumulated so many human bones, that decency suggested we should proceed to

¹ In Greenwell's and Rolleston's *British Barrows*, p. 342, will be found an account of the opening of a tumulus on Wass Moor, in the parish of Kilburn, North Riding, York. In this barrow the Canon found, in connexion with a cremated body, a stone marked with a cross, and not less than twenty cupped stones. The coincidence is so great that Mr. W. G. Smith has introduced an engraving (fig. 1) of the Yorkshire stone for comparison with the Pembrokeshire one; but it seems to me that it is a coincidence, and nothing more. In the first place, Canon Greenwell considers this cross was an accidental figure made while sharpening flint implements on the stone. No one could suppose this to be the case with the Bullebur Stone. Then, apparently, the Yorkshire barrow was old; but the wheel-turned pottery in the Pembrokeshire one proves it to be comparatively recent. Again, the cups in the Welsh stone are apparently sockets in which pivots have turned, while the Yorkshire stones were indented with oval depressions. The burned matter found in the Bullebur cist by no means indicates that cremation had taken place, as the bones recognisable as human are not charred. Canon Greenwell, in a letter he has kindly written to me on the subject, suggests that my stone may have been used as a board to play some game on; but he takes for granted that the cist had been tampered with; and of this we found no indication.

reinterment. For this purpose we selected the centre of the barrow, and had not sunk more than three feet when we struck on a large slab (flat stones had hitherto been conspicuous by their absence). It proved, as we anticipated it to be, the covering stone of a kistvaen, measuring about 4 feet by 3. In it we found portions of a human skeleton much decayed, mixed with charred bones and animal bones, and apparently of an older date than the others, which were all as well preserved as recent bones. In the kistvaen there were bones of oxen (*bos long.*), sheep or goat, and roebuck; a well burned, wheel-turned potsherd, which resembled those found by Colonel Lambton in the adjacent camp, and not like such as are usually found in barrows in Pembrokeshire; and along with these was a piece of chert about the size of half a brick, with a cup bored on each side, the borings being immediately opposite to each other, with a diameter of 2 inches, and the same depth, the inside of them being as highly polished as though they had just left the lapidary's hand. Then we came on a block of red sandstone, 2 feet long and 6 inches wide; on it were scratches like Vs and Ys, resembling those known as mason's marks. The last and most curious discovery was a flat piece of limestone, 7 inches wide by 10 long, on which was roughly inscribed a cross within a circle, with a V or arrow-head in one segment (see Plate, fig. 4). We found nothing more, although we dug down to the sand; still we discovered that although the privilege of burial in this mound was so appreciated that in places the dead were laid in four tiers, no interments had taken place near the kistvaen.

Having reserved three skulls for the inspection of the late Professor Rolleston, we put the other bones in the pit and covered them up. We then began to look about the surroundings of our tumulus, and found, adjoining, the remains of a wall, enclosing a space of about an eighth of an acre, and, at the further end of the tumulus, two small buildings; one of them has, in the me-

mory of man, been used as a cottage; the other the labourers declared was the ruins of a chapel, some saying that they could remember an east window. It is very tiny, being only 16 feet by 12, and is pitched with water-worn stones; it stands east and west. The native legend about it is, "That *they* tried to build a church, but *the other people* would not let them, and pulled it down again."¹ So far for fact, now for deduction.

There can be no question that the central interment in the covered chamber of the tumulus was of an earlier date than either that in the clay and stone grave, or those in the blown sand. I believe that it was the primary interment of the barrow. But, first, as regards the oriented bodies, this arrangement suggests Christianity, which the neighbourhood of the church corroborates, and Professor Rolleston, to whom I sent the skulls, decided, without knowing their history, that they were not "*priscan crania*, and not older than the Romano-British period." But, if Christian, they are the bones of folks who appear to have feasted by the open graves of their friends, and occasionally eaten horseflesh. We calculated that, if the whole tump is as thickly packed with bodies as the portion we examined, it must contain the remains of at least 250 persons; and people are scarce near Bulliber now-a-days. The bronze earring (?) we found in this portion of the barrow was a fine piece of ancient metal; the brass ring, a piece of trumpery, one would not be astonished to see lying in the street any day. The stoup, I expect, came from the little chapel, and had at some time been thrown into a rabbit's hole. It is with the central interment the difficulties arise. Here we find a body buried in a kistvaen in the squatting attitude affected by the Bronze and Stone-Age Peo-

¹ We cleared out the foundation of this little chapel, and found nothing but the bottoms of some very large glass bottles about the size of those known as "Jeroboams". They were marked with prismatic colouring.

ples; with it are interred the stones inscribed with mason's marks. The socketed stone was the bed in which some pivot had turned; perhaps that of a door or gate, though I apprehend it had some connection with early Christian ritual, for the Rev. J. Davies,¹ while restoring the very ancient church of Llanmadoc in Gower, found a similar stone put in as an arch-stone over a window. But the stone inscribed with the cross within the circle leaves little doubt as to the faith of the dead. This, surely, was the grave of a Christian man.

Miss Stokes, in her admirable work on *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, says, "The Cross within the circle is found on the oldest stones in Ireland"; and I am disposed to think that this man, buried with Christian symbols in a heathen kist-vaen, and who collected such a concourse of early Christian dead around him, must have been one of those early Irish missionaries who were the Evangelists of Wales. I say, Irish, because he seems to have stood on the border land of heathendom and Christendom, which is the position of Irish missionaries. Of course there is no doubt that Christianity got a certain footing in Britain under the Romans, though I apprehend no one now believes in the mission of Joseph of Arimathea, or in the conversion of Bran ab Lyr, the father of Caractacus. But Tertullian's assertion that, in the second century, "*Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita*", is worthy of attention, though it may have been an exaggeration or have referred to Ireland. Still, the presence of British bishops in the Councils of Arles, 314 A.D., Sardica, 347 A.D., and Ariminum, 395 A.D., is certain, and Pelagius proved himself to be a stubborn fact.

On the other hand, spade and pickaxe, I believe, never yet turned up any indubitably Christian remains of the Romano-British periods; while in Wales, had the population been Christian, there would have

¹ *History of West Gower*, vol. ii, p. 80.

been no occupation for the legions of Post-Roman Missionary saints who have adorned her annals and enriched her local nomenclature. Had Welsh Christianity been directly derived from Rome, the ritual of the two churches would have been uniform, or, rather, there would have been but one church, and the Welsh clergy would have admitted the supremacy of the Pope. The mysterious establishment which sprang up in Ireland would seem to have been the Mother Church of Wales, and the Christianity of Romano-Britain an exotic faith practised by a small minority of foreigners.

In 383 A.D. Magnus Maximus raised a large army in Britain for service on the continent. Tradition says these men were recruited in Wales, and none of them ever returned. During the reign of Honorius, 395 A.D., the Second Legion was removed from Caerleon, where it had been quartered for upwards of 300 years, and sent to Richborough.¹ An Irish leader, Niall of the Seven Hostages, took advantage of this defenceless condition of Wales to swoop down on the northern seaboard, and on the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, with a great host. If the inhabitants of these counties were of the old Gwyddel or Gaelic blood, as some ethnologists suppose,² they may have received Niall as a liberator rather as an invader. With this host, Christianity seems to have arrived in Wales.

About this period, an Irish leader, Aulach Mac Cormac, is said to have married Marchell,³ daughter and heiress of Tudyr, a Regulus whose clan lived in Brecon. Brychan was the issue of this wedding; a patriarch who, according to the hagiologists, rejoiced in a family of 49 children, mostly saints. Professor Rees suggests,⁴ in extenuation, that he had three wives; and, perhaps, grandchildren, nephews, and nieces were included in the holy brood. Brychan's second son, Cledwyn, was a warrior as well as a saint, and invaded his kinsfolk

¹ Moore's *History of Ireland*, chap. vii.

² *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*.

³ *Essay on Welsh Saints*, Rees, p. 110.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

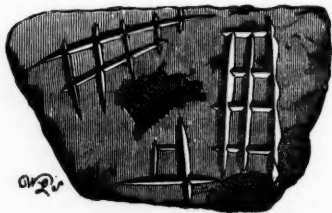
in Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan; in this expedition he was accompanied by the Irish missionary, Brynech or Bernach.

Whether all this story must not be taken with a modicum of salt I will not undertake to say; but Professor Rees, in his admirable *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, assumes that the churches of Llanglydwen, Dinas Nevern, Llanboidy and Llanvernach, which are dedicated to these two men, are the earliest consecrations in the county of Pembroke and its borders.¹ To this period, perhaps, we should attribute the Ogham inscriptions, and this is the date I ventured to suggest for our Bullibur tumulus. On Speed's map of Pembroke-shire, 1610, the site of the tumulus is marked "Trepicard", and, I think, has the two steeples that mark a church, but, in my copy, it is not very clear. In Morden's map of 1704, "Trepicard" occurs; but there is clearly no church marked. Perhaps some of our members can throw light on this forgotten chapel, which would seem to be holy ground, both to churchman and archæologist.

EDWARD LAWS.

Tenby.

¹ Unless a chapel dedicated to St. Patrick, which once existed in the parish of St. David's, can claim priority. (Rees, p. 129.)



Soamridge Stone in the British Museum.
One-third actual size.

HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(Continued from p. 328, Vol. xii.)

1645, May 12. Order for Colonel Mitton to succeed Sir Thos. Middleton in his command. (L. J., vii, 367.) *In extenso.*

1645, Sept. 23. Draft ordinance for admitting Humphrey Edwards to the possession of the estates of his brother Thomas Edwards in Shropshire. (L. J., vii, 595.) *In extenso.*

1645, Sept. 25. Draft order for Sir William Brereton to command in Cheshire. (L. J., vii, 599.) *In extenso.*

1645, Oct. 14. Draft order for the payment of £500 to Colonel Thomas Mitton. (L. J., vii, 637.) *In extenso.*

1645, Oct. 28. Order for Sir Trevor Williams to be Governor of Monmouth Castle. (L. J., vii, 664.) *In extenso.*

1645, Nov. 6. Draft Order for Colonel Thomas Hughes to be Governor of Chepstow town and Castle. (L. J., vii, 678.) *In extenso.*

1645, Nov. 10. Draft order for Colonel Mitton to be Governor of Oswestry. (L. J., vii, 687.) *In extenso.*

1645, Nov. 14. Draft order for repayment of £1,000 advanced for the forces of Monmouth. (L. J., vii, 703.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 1. Draft order appointing Edward Prychard Governor of the town and Castle of Cardiff. (L. J., viii, 19.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 13. Order for appointment of Colonel Thomas Mitton as High Sheriff of Salop. (L. J., viii, 41.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 16. Draft order for payment of £30 to Edmond Stephens, messenger from Colonel Langherne. (L. J., viii, 43.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 19. Draft order for payment of £200 to Colonel Davies. (L. J., viii, 50.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 19. Draft order to clear Thomas Hanmer of his delinquency. (L. J., viii, 51.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 20. Draft order for Bushy Mansell to be Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the county of Glamorgan, subordinate to Sir Thomas Fairfax. (L. J., viii, 52.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 22. Order appointing Colonel John Birch Governor of Hereford. (L. J., viii, 53.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 25. Draft ordinance for repayment of £6,000 advanced for Hereford. (L. J., viii, 67.) *In extenso.*

1645, Dec. 30. Draft order for payment of £1,500 to Hum-

phrey Davies and the Welsh drivers. (L. J., viii, 73.) *In extenso.*

Annexed: Order of the Commons to the same effect as preceding. (C. J., iv, 383.) *In extenso.*

1645. Petition of Dame Dorothy Mansell. Petitioner obtained a writ of error for the recovery of certain records out of the Court holden by the Lord President and Council in the Principality and Marches of Wales, in a cause against her late husband Sir Walter Mansell. The records are ready to be returned into their Lordships' House; but the Lord President,¹ on account of his great infirmity and sickness, is unable to bring them. Prays that some order may be made whereby the records may be certified and brought before their Lordships.

1645-6, Jan. 3. Petition of Rice Vaughan. Prays that the office of Prothonotary and Clerk of the Crown for the counties of Montgomery and Denbigh, which is become forfeitable to the state by the delinquency of Mr. Kenricke Eaton, Sir Richard Lloyd, and Mr. Edisbury, who had the office for their successive lives, may be conferred upon petitioner. (L. J., viii, 78.)

1645-6, Jan. 8. Draft order for payment of £100 to Lieutenant Anthony Berrow for his good service at Hereford. (L. J., viii, 91.) *In extenso.*

1645-6, Jan. 8. Draft ordinance for payment of £2,000 for the garrison of Shrewsbury. (L. J., viii, 91.) *In extenso.*

1645-6, Jan. 8. Petition of Captain John Poyer, now Governor of Pembroke. Prays for discharge, having been arrested at the suit of Captain Swanley, when he was sent to London by Major-General Langherne for the special service of the Parliament, and was attending the Committee of Gloucester.

1645-6, Jan. 19. Draft order to allow interest on £1,500 due to Humphrey Davies and the rest of the Welsh drovers. (L. J., viii, 110.) *In extenso.*

1645-6, Jan. 22. Draft order to continue Sir William Brereton as Commander-in-Chief of the forces before Chester. (L. J., viii, 117.) *In extenso.*

1645-6. Draft order for payment of £100 to Captain Badger for his services at Hereford and elsewhere. (L. J., viii, 127.) *In extenso.*

1645-6, Jan. 30. Intelligence concerning Ireland and the Earl of Glamorgan intercepted at Ruthin, received Jan. 30. Copy of letter, dated the 26th, from John Sworde at Denbigh to Mr. Reynolds: "I am sorry not to be with you at this time. The business I went about is not yet come; when it does, my

¹ John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater.

Lord's Grace of Canterbury has promised to furnish me with my desire. Lord St. Paul will be here to-night. Let me hear the condition of the enemy. I have letters for Dr. Lloyd¹ from my Lord of York."

Copy of letter, dated 21st Jan., from John² Archbishop of York, at Conway, to Dr. Lloyd, Warden of Ruthin: "I thank you for your letter, and I will satisfy the bearer. I beseech you to return to the noble Governor the Duke of York, to be sent him so soon as may well be; for in Ireland they will not be gainsaid. That he is at Ludlow the boat saith."

Copy of letter, dated 21st Jan., from George Lord Digby, at Dublin, to the Archbishop of York: "I am glad you do not take such alarm at the commitment of Lord Glamorgan as to despair of the relief of Chester, which I believe will now go on speedily, and of this I desire you to certify Lord Byron."

Copy of letter, dated 25th Jan., from John Archbishop of York, at Conwy, to Sir John Walter, Governor of Chirk [Chirk] Castle: "Read and then seal the enclosed, and you will know all I can tell you of this great business. Colonel Butler, a servant of the Queen, will impart to you all the news from Ireland."

Copy of letter, dated 25th Jan., from John Archbishop of York to Lord Ashley: "I received your letter of the 12th Jan. late on the night of the 24th, and have communicated the Marquess of Ormond's letter to Lord Byron. His answer to it implied some fear as to holding out Chester. Colonel Butler tells me that the men and shipping are still ready in Ireland, though retarded by the distractions there, which are so far composed that the Earl of Glamorgan is out on bail. There is no relying upon these Irish forces for this service, though, if they come, they shall be carefully sent to the fittest rendezvous, and you shall be informed of their landing and condition. Lord St. Paul, under Colonel Gilbert Byron, is at the head of six hundred, or, as I believe, of five hundred horse and foot, good men. Lieut.-Colonel Roger Mostyn has landed with a piece of a regiment of Lord Digby's raised in Ireland, which after a day or two's refreshment will be at your Lordship's disposal. Your Lordship probably knows, from the noble Governor of Chirk, more than I of the forces our garrisons can afford; but I am told that there are about four thousand fighting men at Chester.

¹ David Lloyd of Berthllwyd, Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, born 1598; Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxon., 1617; Warden of Ruthin, Dec. 1642; Dean of St. Asaph, Sept. 1660. Died Sept. 1663.

² John Williams, D.D., Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Archbishop of York, born at Aberconwy, 1582, and educated at Ruthin Grammar School.

I pray God bless your design, and desire your Lordship to esteem of me as one who hath long loved your Lordship, and may truly write myself your Lordship's most affectionate and humble servant."

1645-6, Jan. —. Letter from Captain John Crowther, at Kingrode (?), on board *The Entrance*, to the Speaker of the House of Commons. "Having seen the letter directed to the Admiral, Captain Robert Moulton, about sending some persons from Glamorganshire to London, Crouther, in the absence of the Admiral, has sent a vessel to Cardiff for the purpose. The enemy have defeated the Parliament forces in Monmouthshire. The town of Cardiff being in want of ammunition, he has sent some thither, fearing for the security of the place, and desires an order to justify his conduct."

1645-6, Feb. 3. Application for an order for institution of Edmund Gamage to the rectory of Llanhary, and of Thomas Gamage to the rectory of St. Bride's Minor, super Ogmores, both in the county of Glamorgan. (L. J., viii, 142.)

1645-6, Feb. 3. Petition of John Eliot. Petitioner, who is agent for the county of Pembroke, hears that John Poyer, late Mayor of Pembroke, has applied to the House for payment of £4,000, alleged to have been borrowed and expended by him in the service of the state; whereas he has money and goods of the state in his hands, of great value, unaccounted for. Prays that Poyer may be summoned to attend the Committee of Accounts, there to answer petitioner's charges, and shew the particulars of his disbursements.

1645-6, Feb. 7. Draft orders for Colonel Michael Jones to be Governor of Chester, and for Alderman Edwards to be appointed Colonel to command the City Regiment here. (L. J., viii, 146.) *In extenso*.

1645-6, Feb. 7. Draft order for observing Thursday next, come sevensnight, in and near London, as a day of thanksgiving for the reduction of Chester. (L. J., viii, 146.) *In extenso*.

Draft order for Thursday next, come three weeks, to be similarly observed throughout the country. (L. J., viii, 146.) *In extenso*.

Draft order for payment of £50 to Mr. Parker, who brought the good news of the taking of Chester. (L. J., viii, 147.) *In extenso*.

1645-6, Feb. 14. Draft ordinances for payment of £1,000 for Colonel Mitton's regiment, and for raising £600 weekly in Herefordshire. (L. J., viii, 168.) *In extenso*.

1645-6, Feb. [21]. Letter from Captain John Crouther, in Cardiff Roads, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, giving

some account of proceedings in Glamorganshire, and of a rising of the townsmen of Cardiff, when the Governor with about three hundred men was forced to take refuge in the Castle. Crouther battered the town from the sea, to encourage those in the Castle to hold out, and they were shortly relieved by Major-General Langherne, and the town again reduced to obedience. This letter is much mutilated. (See C. J., iv, 457.)

Annexed: A perfect relation of the occurrences happened in Glamorganshire, in and about Cardiff, together with the manner how that town was taken. Colonel Kearne, a committeeman of Glamorganshire, a discontented man, on the 6th Feb., pretending to defend Cardiff against the Raglan rogues, joined with them, rose against the Governor, and forced him, with some seamen whom the writer had put into the town, and the well affected, to take refuge in the Castle, and strictly begirt them, offering quarter to all but committeemen and seamen. The writer encouraged those in the Castle to hold out by daily approaching as near as possible with six barks and boats, and firing upon the town with large ordnance. On the 18th Major-General Langherne and others came to the relief of the place, and routed the enemy, who marched out to meet them; but on the 20th they surrendered upon terms. The articles, however, were afterwards broken by them, and they were pursued, and many slain.

1645-6, Feb. 24. Draft order for Colonel Robert Kerle to be Governor of Monmouth. (L. J., viii, 184.)

Draft orders for adding Thomas Morgan and others to the Committee for the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, etc. (*in extenso*), and for a day of public thanksgiving for the late successes at Chester and Torrington. (L. J., viii, 185.) *In extenso*.

1645-6, March 4. Draft order for Major-General Langherne to have Mr. Barlow's estate in Pembrokeshire. (L. J., viii, 199.)

1645-6, March 7. Draft order for Sir William Brereton to command for three months the forces to be now drawn together for following the enemy in the field. (L. J., viii, 202.) *In extenso*.

1645-6, March 9. Draft order for Sir Thomas Middleton to be Governor of Chirk Castle.. (L. J., viii, 204.) *In extenso*.

1645-6, March 13. Draft order for payment of £20 to Mr. Moore Pye, the messenger from Cardiff. (L. J., viii, 208.) *In extenso*.

1645-6, March 16. Draft order for Major-General Langherne to command in the county of Glamorgan. (L. J., viii, 211.) *In extenso*.

1645-6, March 20. Order for Mr. Recorder Glynne¹ to be

¹ Sir John Glynne, third son of Sir William Glynne, Knight, born

Prothonotary and Clerk of the Crown for the county of Denbigh, etc. (L. J., viii, 223.) *In extenso.*

1645-6, March 24. Draft orders for payment of £2,000 every six months for ammunition for Hereford garrison, and for payment of £6,000 every six months for the officers of the two foot regiments of Gloucester. (L. J., viii, 234, 235.) *In extenso.*

1646, March 27. Draft order for Major Hornehold to have £100 for bringing the letter from Sir Wm. Brereton, etc. (L. J., viii, 241.) *In extenso.*

1646, March 30. Petition of Thomas Deacon and Nicholas Corselles, of London, merchants. In May 1642 petitioners were ordered not to molest Thomas Bushell or his sureties; and the difference between them was referred to the mediation of the Lord Privy Seal, since which time nothing has been done. Bushell is a delinquent, and has deserted the Parliament, and petitioners therefore pray that the former order may be reversed.

1646, April 18. Draft order for payment of £50, out of Mrs. Murray's fine, to Mr. Robert Fogge for bringing the news of the taking of Ruthin Castle. (L. J., viii, 278.) *In extenso.*

1646, April 25. Draft order for Bushy Mansell to be High Sheriff of Glamorganshire. (L. J., viii, 285.) *In extenso.*

1646, May 2. Draft orders for William Herbert to be captain of a troop of horse to be employed in Monmouthshire, also to be Sheriff of Monmouthshire; and for Colonel Morgan to command the forces in Monmouthshire. (L. J., viii, 293.) *In extenso.*

1646, May 5. Draft order for Colonel Andrew Lloyd to be Governor of Bridgnorth Castle. (L. J., viii, 300.) *In extenso.*

1646, May 9. Draft order for payment of £50 to Colonel Coote, who brought the news from Bridgnorth. (L. J., viii, 312.) *In extenso.*

1646, May 21. Draft letter from (the Speaker of the House of Commons) to Colonel Langherne, to let him know that the Lords are much dissatisfied that their letters on behalf of Mr. George Mynn, a man well affected, and who has suffered much in the common cause, have not been obeyed; and to require him to see that they are obeyed in all points, and Mr. Mynn freed from any seizure or sequestration of his iron or other goods in the county of Carmarthen. (See L. J., viii, 319.)

1646, May 28. Petition of Thomas Deacon and Nicholas Corselles, of London, merchants. In the years 1640 and 1641 petitioners bought 1,250 tons of lead of Thomas Bushell and Edmond

in 1603, at Glynllivon, Carnarvonshire, bought the Hawarden estate, Flintshire, from the Earl of Derby. Died in 1666, and buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

Goodier, to be delivered out of the mines royal in the county of Cardigan on certain days then to come. In May 1642 Bushell petitioned the House, pretending that he was disturbed in the working of the mines by Sir Richard Price, and that he was unable, in consequence, to perform his contracts with petitioners. Their Lordships referred the petition to the Lord Privy Seal, giving his Lordship power to mediate between Bushell and petitioners, they forbearing any further prosecution in law against Bushell for eighteen months. Petitioners were never served with this order until the day for payment, when they sent a ship to fetch away their lead; and the ship-master was then served with the order, and forced to take away his ship without any lead at all. About this time Bushell took himself into the King's quarters, where he has ever since remained. Petitioners hear that the mines are now in the power of the Parliament and therefore pray either that Bushell may be ordered forthwith to perform his several bargains with them, or that they may have license to carry materials for the supply of the mines, and to transport lead and ore therefrom, they paying all duties. (L. J., viii, 336.)

Annexed: 1, copy of preceding; 2, copy of Bushell's petition referred to in preceding; 3, copy of order referring Bushell's petition to the Lord Privy Seal, 23 May 1642.

1646, May 28. Copy of order upon petition of Deacon and Corselles. (L. J., viii, 336.)

Annexed: 1, affidavit of Thomas Deacon that he served preceding order upon Goodier, but could not serve Bushell, who is in the Isle of Lundy, where he stands upon his guard,—29 June 1646; 2, application of Goodier, Deacon, and Corselles, that no order may be made in Bushell's favour until they have been heard. Undated.

1646, May 28. Draft ordinance to clear Richard Brereton of Ashley, in the county of Chester, of his delinquency. (L. J., viii, 336.) *In extenso*.

1646, June 2. Draft order nominating Owen Brereton de Broughes¹ a Deputy Lieutenant of the county of Denbigh. Noted "Not agreed."

1646, June 6. Draft order for Colonel Samuel Moore to be Governor of Ludlow Castle. (L. J., viii, 362.) *In extenso*.

1646, June 6. Draft order for Colonel Humphrey Mackworth to be Governor of Shrewsbury Castle. (L. J., viii, 362.) *In extenso*.

1646, June 11. Draft order for payment of £1000 to Colonel John Birch, Governor of Hereford. (L. J., viii, 370.) *In extenso*.

¹ Borras.

1646, June 11. Draft order for payment of £200 to Sir John Watts, late Governor of Chirk Castle, in discharge of Colonel Mytton's engagements upon surrender of the Castle. (L. J., viii, 371.) *In extenso.*

1646, June 15. Application for an order for Dr. Aylett to institute and induct Henry Jones to the rectory of Knockin, Salop. (L. J., viii, 374.)

1646, June 20. Draft order for Colonel Thomas Glynn to be Governor of Carnarvon. (L. J., viii, 386.) *In extenso.*

1646, June 29. Draft order appointing Colonel Thomas Mytton Governor of the town and Castle of Beaumaris and the Isle of Anglesey. (L. J., viii, 403.) *In extenso.*

1646, July 4. Petition of Edmond Goodier in answer to the petition of Thomas Deacon and Nicholas Corselles. (L. J., viii, 415.) *In extenso.*

Annexed: 1. Affidavit of Thomas Bentley of Barton-on-the-Heath, that the lease of the mines granted by Lady Myddleton to Bushell was in consideration of a great sum of money assigned by him to Edmond Goodier, and that Goodier was removed from the possession of the same by the King's forces as an adherent to the Parliament, and the profits, to the value of £10,000, taken away from him for His Majesty's service, etc. 29 June 1646. 2. Affidavit of Thomas Deacon confirming preceding, 29 June 1646. 3. Affidavit of John Port, 16 June 1646. 4. Petition of Philip Lacock, merchant. In the order made to settle Mr. Goodier in possession of the royal mines in Cardigan, the mine of Cwmystwith, a distinct mine of potter's ore, was inserted. Petitioner, who, as soon as the county was reduced, quietly entered, and has since continued in possession of this mine, prays that he may be evicted only by law, equity, or after their Lordships have heard both parties interested. Undated.

1646, July 15. Letter from Major-General Langharne, at Carmarthen, to Mr. Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons: "The discontents I daily meet with necessitate my advertising you of the dangers I fear if I receive not the orders of the House for the employment of my soldiers. They are allowed neither free quarters nor contributions without much reluctancy and opposition. The infection is spread generally over the whole Association, and is broken out with open violence in the turbulent county of Glamorgan. The Colonel-General signified that it was the desire of most of the Committee that none of my men should quarter in that county; but they have paid no manner of contribution, that I might otherwise provide for them. If the House will direct my course, I shall not be wanting in my endeavours to observe their commands. The gentry of the

country are so averse that they will wait their own designs if they find that I do but favour them. They seemed forward at first in promising the Commissioners of Excise all assistance; but finding I had performed my part, they withdrew in the very point of the execution, and exposed Mr. Gunter to the fury of the giddy multitude." (See C. J., iv, 634.)

1646, Aug. 4. Report that Major-General Langherne has raised six hundred horse in the associated counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Cardigan, and has fourteen hundred foot, part of them English-Irish, besides the trained bands of those counties. Of these, two hundred horse would be sufficient to remain in the counties; and if Pembroke and Tenby are kept up as garrisons, it is much desired that two commanders with their companies may be sent down to those garrisons out of the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, that the county of Pembroke may not suffer, as it now does, by the oppression and tyranny of the Governor. (See C. J., iv, 634.)

1646, Aug. 13. Message from the Assembly of Divines that they have not been able to examine the three ministers intended for itinerant preachers in South Wales. (L. J., viii, 463.) *In extenso.*

1646, Aug. 13. Order for disgarrisoning all the garrisons in Shropshire, except Shrewsbury and Ludlow. (L. J., viii, 464.) *In extenso.*

1646, Aug. 18. Draft ordinance to clear Henry Barlow of his delinquency. (L. J., viii, 466.) *In extenso.*

1646, Aug. 19. Petition of William Adames of Peterchurch in the county of Pembroke. Out of affection to Parliament he served with several men and horses, at his own charge, under Major-General Langharne; and when the enemy were in the county, voluntarily gave way for firing divers of his houses in the suburbs of Pembroke. He was afterwards obliged to take refuge, with his wife and child, in Pembroke, and the enemy then fired his houses and corn, and drove away all his cattle. He subsequently came by ship to London, and has there remained above twelve months. He has been plundered of all he had, is much indebted, and prays the House to give him some assistance in rebuilding his house, etc. (L. J., viii, 468.)

Annexed: Certificate from Major-General Langharne and John Poyer, of the fidelity of Adames and of his great losses. 28 May 1645.

1646, Aug. 20. Draft ordinance to secure payment of the interest on £10,000 for North Wales. (L. J., viii, 469.) *In extenso.*

1646, Sept. 1. Draft order for £30 for the messenger that

brought the news of the taking of Flint Castle. (L. J., viii, 479.)
In extenso.

1646, Sept. 10. List of deputy-lieutenants appointed this day for Anglesey. (L. J., viii, 486.) *In extenso.*

1646, Sept. 16. Draft order for Luke Lloyd to be Sheriff of Flintshire. (L. J., viii, 492.) *In extenso.*

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE.

BY THE LATE ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A., RECTOR OF CULMINGTON,
AND CANON OF ST. ASAPH.

As the ancient Celtic of Cornwall no longer exists as a living language, it may be interesting to the inquirer to be informed what documents exist for the study of this interesting member of a language once spoken over a large portion of Europe.

The Celtic languages consist of two distinct classes, which may be conveniently called the Cymric and Gaelic. The former includes the Welsh, Cornish, and the Armorican or Breton, which may be considered as three sisters, and which stand in the relationship of cousins-german to the three Gaelic sisters of Irish, Highland Scotch, and Manx. The two classes stand in somewhat similar relationship and difference to one another as Latin and Greek. Many rules of construction, and especially the peculiar initial changes of words, are common to both classes, and three fourths of the vocabulary are identical in the Cymric and the Gaelic. The Cymric was separated from the Gaelic before it became divided into Cornish and Armorican.

The earliest document is a vocabulary of Latin words with Cornish explanations, preserved in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, and there entitled *Vocabularium Wallicum*. This was first noticed by Edward Lhwyd in the Cornish preface to his *Archæologia*, and proved by him to be not Welsh, but Cornish.

It has been printed in the same order as it is written by Zeuss in his *Grammatica Celtica* (1853). It has since been printed alphabetically by Mr. Edwin Norris in his *Cornish Drama*, with additional illustrations from the cognate dialects. This vocabulary is of great philological importance. The MS. was written in the thirteenth century, and may have been a copy of an older original, as it closely agrees with the Welsh of the ninth century; and it contains many proofs that the Welsh then more closely approximated to the Cornish than in later ages.

The next work is a poem entitled *Mount Calvary*, a MS. of the fifteenth century, the subject being the trial and crucifixion of Christ. This contains two hundred and fifty-nine stanzas of eight lines each, in heptasyllabic metre with alternate rhymes. This was first printed by Mr. Davies Gilbert in 1826, but with the grossest inaccuracies of printing. A new and correct edition, however, was issued in 1862, for which we are indebted to the eminent Celtic scholar Dr. Whitley Stokes, now one of the six members of the Legislative Council of India.

Then follows the series of dramas entitled *Origo Mundi*, *Passio Domini Nostri*, and *Resurrectio Domini Nostri*. These three dramas were most ably edited by the well known Oriental scholar Mr. Edwin Norris, with an English translation and notes, in two volumes 8vo., which were published by the University of Oxford in 1859. The editor has also given an excellent compendium of Cornish grammar.

The next work that was published was another drama called *The Creation of the World, with Noah's Flood*, which was written, as stated on the MS. containing it, "on the 12th of August 1611, by William Jordan." This work is of much less philological importance, and in several passages it is an imitation of the earlier dramas; but the language was now become much corrupted, and is full of English words. It was published by Mr. Davies Gilbert in 1827, and is equally remark-

able for its typographical errors as the *Mount Calvary*. A new and correct edition of this also was given by Dr. Whitley Stokes in 1864.

Another most important addition has been made more recently to the scanty stores of Cornish literature, by the discovery in the Peniarth library of another drama, the existence of which seems only to have been known to Edward Lhwyd, who mentions in his *Catalogus MSS. Britannicorum* (*Archæologia Britannica*, 1707, p. 262), *Llyvyr yn iaith Kernyw* (4to.) *Codex Dialecto Cornubiensi scriptus*. This is entitled *Bewnans Meriasek*, being the life of St. Meriasek, bishop and confessor. We are indebted for the publication of this also to Dr. Whitley Stokes, who has handsomely printed it at his own expense, and most ably edited it, with a correct translation and notes, in 1872.

These are all the materials in existence for the illustration of the ancient Cornish in the purest times. For the study of the language, the following works are also to be noticed. Edward Lhwyd, in his *Archæologia*, compiled a grammar of the Cornish as corruptly spoken in his day. It is valuable as shewing the corruption from the purer language of the MSS. The next work was the *Cornish Vocabulary* printed by Pryse in 1790 (4to.), but of which he was not the author, as the original MS. is in existence with the date of 1730, and is supposed to have been the work of Edward Lhwyd or Scawen. The *Grammatica Celtica* of Zeuss (published at Leipzig in 1853) is an admirable work for the scientific study of the Cymric and Gaelic; but the Cornish portion is very meagre in this edition, and the deficiency is fully made up in the second edition of Zeuss by Professor Ebel (Berlin, 1871).

[A new edition of his *Cornish Lexicon*, having all the fresh words of the *Bewnans Meriasek* incorporated, had been prepared by Canon Williams, and was ready for the press, when he died.—*Ed. Arch. Camb.*]

CONWY ABBEY RECORDS.

Wall' Her'f'.—Abbas de Aburconweye finem fecit cum R' p' sexaginta solidos p' confirmac'o'e quar'dam cartar' h'enda T' R' apud Westm' xxiiij. die Marcii.

(Note in margin, "i' R' vii'o i' Heref'." This is a reference to the Pipe Rolls, where the money is accounted for; but no further particulars are given.—Originalia Roll, 6 Edward III, m. 30.)

Thabbey of Conwey.—Ric¹ &c. To all' ye fermo'r' & ten'nt' of the mano'rs lordship's land' & lyuelod' belonging to ye monast'y of Conway in North Wales thise I'res forto see or here greting. Where as we understande y't o'r trusty and right welbeloued in god Thabbot' of Stratford and Wooburn' Reformato'rs of that Religion' w'tin this our Roy'me haue co'mytted thadmi'strac'on guying and disposic'on of all' the said land' and lyuelod' and of the Rent' and Reuenues co'myng and growi'g of the same vnto Dompn' Griffith Gogh' Prio'r of the saide place and oth'r during the variaunce and co'traus'ie betwix Dompn' Dauid Wincheco'be and Dompn' Dauid Lloid' for the Right and title of Thoffice of Abbacie ther'. We therfor' wol and straitely charge you all' and eu'ry of you that vnto the said Prio'r or vnto suche Offic's as by hym shalbe appoynted and assigned and to noon' oth'r ye truely pay and content yo'r fermes Rent' and oth'r dutees aft'r the Rate of your tenures fro t'me to t'me among' you vsed and accustomed vnto suche tyme as by the saide Reformato'rs it shalbe det'myned and provided who shal oth'wise haue the Rule and be Abbot ther'. Charging ou'e this alman'e o'r Offic's and subgiett' of thoes p'ties that vnto hym that soo by theym shalbe p'uided ther' to be assisting fauo'ring and helping in all' thing' as shal app'teyne as they desire to please vs. Yeuen &c. at Pountfreet the last day of May the furst yer' of o'r Reigne. (Harleian MSS. 433, f. 175.)

Dil'ci R' in xt'o Dauid Lloid' Abbas et Conuentus de Ab'cone- wey dant viginti & sex solidos & octo denarios solut' in Hana- pio p' confirmac'o'e l'rar' paten' D'ni R' nunc de exemplificac'o'e l'rar' paten' D'ni E' nup' Regis Angl' primi h'end'. T' R' apud Westm' xx. die Nouembr'. (Originalia Roll, 5 Henry VII, m. 74.)

¹ Richard III.

*Commission to William Earl of Huntingdon and James Tyrell, Knt.,
to array the Men of Wales.*

R' carissimo consanguineo suo Will'o Comiti Hunt' ac dil'c'o & fideli suo Jacobo Tyrell' Militi sal't'm Sciatis q'd nos de fidelitate industria & circumspec'o'e v'ris plurimu' confidentes assignauim' vos ac vob' coniunctim & diuisim potestatem & auctoritatem dam' & co'mittim' ad om'es et singulos ligeos & subditos n'ros in Wallia co'morantes & ad laborand' potentes conuocand' & congregand' & ad eos iuxta gradus & facultates suos bene & defensibilit' arraiand' et ip'os sic arraiatos in resistenciam & supeditac'o'em rebelliu' p'dito' & inimico' n'ro' si qui in partes Wallie p'dict' p' tram aut p' mare aduen'int siue applicu'int ac alio' rebelliu' si qui in partib' illis fu'int qui co'moc'es p'p'li n'ri ibidem fec'int aut attemptau'int ducend' seu duci faciend' ac eosdem ligeos & subditos n'ros in conduc'o'e ille regend' & gub'nand' necnon ad rebelles p'ditores & inimicos n'ros p'd'cos capiend' & si necesse fu'it debelland' Et ideo vob' & alt'i v'r'm mandam' q'd statim visis p'sentib' circa p'missa diligent' intendatis eaq' fac' & quantum in vob' est exequamini sicut p'd'c'm est Dam' autem om'ib' & singulis ligeis & subditis n'ris sic p' vos congregand' & arraiand' ac aliis quo' int'est in hac parte tenore p'sencium firmit' in mandatis q'd vob' & alt'i v'r'm in execuc'o'e p'misso' pareant obediant & intendant in om'ib' p'ut decet In cuius &c. T' R' apud Birdporte quinto die Nouembr'.

p' ip'm Regem oretenus.

(1 Ric. III, p. 1, m. 23d, No. 18.)

Denization of Richard Vaughan.

R' om'ib' ad quos &c. sal't'm Sciatis q'd nos de gra' n'ra sp'ali & mero motu n'ris concessim' dil'c'o et fideli s'uienti n'ro Ric'o Vach'n alias d'c'o Ric'o ap Rob't ap Ieu'n Vaghan qui Wallicus oriundus existit q'd ip'e & om'es lib'i sui de corpore suo legitime p'creati & p'creand' ac heredes sui quicumq' sint indigen' & p'sona habiles & quil't eo' sit indigen' & p'sona habilis & ligei n'ri ac heredu' n'ro' ad acceptand' p'quirend' & gaudend' t'ras ten' redditus & s'uicia aduocac'o'es reu'siones officia feod' & om'es alias possessiones h'end' tenend' & occupand' p'fato Ric'o sibi & heredib' suis diuisim & coniunctim cum aliis p'sonis quibuscumq' cuiuscumque g'dus status aut condic'o'is extit'int ac p'fato Ric'o heredib' & assign' suis aut heredib' suis de corpore suo legitime p'creatis aut p'fato Ric'o & heredib' masculis de corpore suo legitime p'creatis aut p'fato Ric'o ad t'minu' vite ip'ius Ric'i a ut ad t'minu' vite alicuius alt'ius tam in Angl' q'm

in Wall' infra Burgos & villas franchesiatis & ext'a plene & integre p'ut aliquis ligeus n'r' Anglicus p'creatus et natus infra regnu' n'r'm Angl' & non alit' nec alio modo p'tractent' h'eant' reputent' & gub'nent' nec p'tractet' h'eat' reputet' & gub'net' Et q'd p'd'eus Ric'us & heredes sui ac lib'i sui p' aliquos Wallen' non conuincat' nec conuincant' Et q'd p'd'eus Ric'us heredes ac lib'i sui quicumq' om'ia & singula priuilegia custumas & franchises ac om'es acc'o'es & querelas reales p'sonales & mixtas h'ere exc'cere ac eis gaudere & vti ac pl'itare & impl'itari nec non respondere & responderi possit & possint p'ut ligei n'ri infra regnu' n'r'm Angl' oriundi h'ent vtunt' & gaudent Et q'd ip'e p'fatus Ric'us & heredes ac lib'i sui non artent' teneant' aut compellant' aut aliquis eo' artet' teneat' aut compellat' ad soluend' aut supportand' aliqua subsid' amobr' Kylche custumas aut alia ou'a Wallicana p't talia qualia ligei n'ri in regno n'ro Angl' oriundi soluunt et supportant Et hoc absq' fine & feodo nob' & heredib' n'ris aliqualit' soluend' & capiend' & absq' impedimento p'turbac'o'e vexac'o'e & g'uamine n'ri aut hered' n'ro' Offic' vel Ministro' n'ro' quo'cumq' Et aliquo actu ordinac'o'e p'uisione seu statuto quouismodo ante hec tempora incontriu' fact' aut impost'um faciend' non obstant' p'uiso semp' q'd prefatus Ric'us lib'i & heredes sui homag' ligeum nob' et heredib' n'ris fac' & faciant Et q'd ip'e & heredes ac lib'i sui lotto & scotto cum aliis ligeis n'ris Anglicis p'd'eis contribuant vt est iustum In cuius &c. T' R' apud Westm' xiiij die Februarij.

p' l're de priuato sigill' & de dat' &c.

(1 Ric. III, p. 2, m. 21, No. 150.)

Licence to William, Abbot of Margam Monastery, to exchange Lands, etc., with Richard, Abbot of Tewkesbury Monastery.

R' om'ib' ad quos &c. sal't'm. Sciatis q'd cum Will's Abbas Monast'ij de Morgan' in Suthwall' & eiusdem loci Conuentus in iure eccl'ie siue Abb'ie p'd'e'e seisit' sint de c'tis t'ris ten' reddit' reu'sion' & aliis p'ficiis cum suis p'tin' in Saltmarshe Tokyngton' Olveston' in com' Glouc' ac infra villam de Bristowe & lib'tatem eiusdem Eciam cum Ric'us Abbas Monast'ij b' Marie de Teukesbury & eiusdem loci Conuentus seisiti sint in iure eccl'ie siue Abb'ie sue de Teukesbury p'dict' de c'tis decimis t'ris ten' & redditib' cum p'tin' in parochiis de Nouo Castello & Kenfyk in Suthwall' cu' aduocacion' eccl'ia' de Nouo Castello & Kenfyk p'dict' cum p'tin' que p'dict' Abbas & Conuentus de Morgan' modo tenent p' composic'o'em int' p'dict' Abb'em & Conuentum de Teukesbury ex vna parte et p'fat' Abb'em & Conuentu' de Morgan' ex alt'a parte fact' p'ut in eisdem composic'o'ib' inde

confeis plenius apparet que quidem abb'ie sunt de fundac'o'e p'genito' & antecesso' p'dil'cissime Anne consortis n're Et p' eo q'd p'd'c'i Abbas & Conuentus de Morgan' ad p'sens intendunt dare & concedere d'c'is Abb'i & Conuentui de Teukesbury p'dict' t'r' & ten' reddit' reu'sion' & p'ficua cum suis p'tin' in Saltmarshe Tokyngton Olveston' & Bristowe ac infra lib'tatem eiusdem in excambiu' p' p'dict' decimis t'ris ten' & redditib' ac aduocac'o'ib' p'd'c'is cum p'tin' p'ut p'd'c'm est. Nos p'missa considerantes de gra' n'ra sp'ali ac ex c'ta sciencia & mero motu n'ris concessim' ac tenore p'senciu' l'ra' n'ra' patenciu' plenam & integram licenciam dedim' p'fat' Abb'i & Conuentui de Morgan' q'd ip'i in simul excambiu' p'dict' p' t'ris & ten' p'd'c'is & c'tis p'missis cum p'dict' Abb'e & Conuentu monast'ij be' Marie de Teukesbury p'dict' & successorib' suis legitime fac'e & p'implere possint Et q'd bene liceat & licebit p'dict' Abb'i & Conuentui de Morgan' decimas t'ras ten' & reddit' cum aduocac' p'dict' cum suis p'tin' absq' fraude recip'e & h'ere de p'fatis Abb'e & Conuentu de Teukesbury p'dict' imp'p'm Et q'd p'dict' Abbas & Conuentus de Morgan' p' eisdem decimis t'ris ten' reddit' & aduocacion' p'dict' cum p'tin' dict' t'ras ten' reddit' reu'sion' & p'ficua cum p'tin' in Saltmarshe Tokyngton' Olveston' & Bristowe ac infra lib'tatem eiusd'm p'fat' Abb'i & Conuentui de Teukesbury & successorib' suis imp'p'm dare & concedere possint p' p'sentes Et q'd p'fati Abbas & Conuentus d'c'i monast'ij de Teukesbury p'dict' t'ras ten' reddit' reu'sion' & p'ficua in Saltmarshe Tokyngton' Olveston' & Bristowe ac infra lib'tatem eiusdem cum om'ib' & singulis suis p'tin' de p'fat' Abb'e & Conuentu Monast'ij de Morgan' p'dict' recip'e & h'ere possint & tenere eisdem Abb'i & Conuentui Monast'ij de Teukesbury & successorib' suis imp'p'm tenore p'senciu' similis licenciam dedim' sp'alem Et hoc absq' fine seu feodo nob' vel hered' n'ris p' excambio p'dicto in hana-p'io cancellar' n're inde faciend' seu soluend' Et q'd exp'ssa mencio de vero valore annuo p'misso' aut de aliis donis siue concessione' p' nos dict' Abb'i & Conuentui de Morgan' ante hec tempora fact' in p'sentib' minime fact' existit aut aliquo statuto ad manu' mortuam edit' non obstant' aut aliquo alio statuto actu ordinac'o'e restricte'o'e seu p'uisione incont'riu' fact' edit' siue ordinat' non obstant' In cuius &c. T' R' apud Westm' xij die Januarij.

p' l're de priuato sigillo & de dat' &c.

(2 Ric. III, p. 2, m. 19, n. 138.)

Obituary.

SINCE the issue of the last Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, two well known persons have died. Although at the time of their decease they were not members of the Society, they had been so for years previously. The elder of these two is the late RICHARD MASON of Tenby, a gentleman as well known as he was esteemed by all classes. In 1850 he undertook the printing and publishing of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* at his sole risk, on condition of receiving half the annual subscription for each Number supplied to the members. The list of subscribing members in that year contained under one hundred and thirty names. In 1855 the Society published on their own account, retaining him as their printer. He about this time commenced, as a private speculation, the *Cambrian Journal*, and carried it on for some years. Mr. Mason was the author of the popular *Guide to Tenby*, which reached a sixth edition, and is undoubtedly the most useful handbook of the present day. We believe he was a native of Herefordshire, and engaged in agricultural pursuits; but seems to have been so charmed with Tenby that he settled there, and became one of the most active and useful members of the local authorities during the space of thirty years. He died in his sixty-fifth year, and is buried in the Cemetery.

Mr. JOSEPH EDWARDS of Robert Street, London, was born in Merthyr, 5 March 1814, so that he was two or three years older than Mr. Mason. His father, Mr. James Edwards, was a mason, but principally engaged in cutting tombstones. In 1835 Mr. Edwards found his way to London, where he was for some time unable to find employment. Before he left Merthyr he obtained a letter of introduction to Mr. Behnes the sculptor, who not being able to give him employment, introduced him to a Mr. Brown, a statuary and marble-mason, who, however, had no opening for him. Having nothing to do, he was permitted to remain during the day in one of Mr. Behnes' rooms, when Mr. Brown, who now wanted a hand, remembered the young Welshman, and inquired of Mr. Behnes where he might be found. Being informed he was at that time on the premises, he found him in an upper room engaged on some modelling which so pleased his future employer that he at once engaged his services at the modest rate of a guinea a week. In 1837, at the age of twenty-three, he entered as a student at the Royal Academy, and carried off the medal of that year for the best antique work. Two years afterwards he obtained the first of three medals awarded. From that time fortune began to smile on him, and commissions constantly following gave him full employment for the rest of his days. As soon as he found himself established to some extent, he became, and continued for many years, a member of the Association, and was, with a few other members, remarkable for strict punctuality in his payment of subscriptions.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

SIR,—I wish to obtain some further information of the distinguished Welshmen mentioned below, who graduated at the University of Cambridge. The majority of Welshmen who aspire to be graduates are attracted to Oxford, from the greater advantages offered there for those who belong to Wales, as well as from its greater nearness of position; but there is a considerable number of eminent Welshmen who have taken their degrees at Cambridge. At present I ask for information only about the following graduates:

1. Nicholas Cantalupe. He was a Carmelite friar, and Superior of his order several times, in the fifteenth century. He was the author of some historical and theological works, and among others, of a *Brief History of Cambridge*. It is presumed, therefore, that he was educated at Cambridge. Leland, in his work, *De Scriptoribus*, says that he was of Welsh extraction, and of the same family as "the holy Thomas Cantalupe, Bishop of Hereford". I find this statement in the preface to an edition of Parker's *History of the University of Cambridge*, printed in 1721. Is anything known of the Welsh family with which Nicholas Cantalupe was connected?

2. Owen Gwynn, or Gwynne as the name appears in the *Cambridge Calendar*. He was Master of St. John's College from 1612 to 1633. Parker says that he was "a Welshman of a knightly family, Fellow of the College, Doctor of Divinity, was chosen Provost (now Master) in the year of Our Lord 1612, Vice-Chancellor in 1616, rector of" The name of the parish is not given; but it was probably a college living. Of what knightly family was he a member?

3. Thomas Thomas. He was printer to the University in the latter half of the sixteenth century; but he was also M.A. of King's College, and the author of a very useful Latin dictionary which passed through many editions. The books that came from his press were beautifully printed. The type resembles very closely the well known Italian type, and probably came from Italy. I presume that he was a Welshman; but I shall be glad to receive some certain information about him.

4. Robert Evans. He was the first Warden (as Parker gives the title) of the College of St. Mary Magdalen, appointed in 1542. This is certainly the correct date, for the College was founded in that year, though Parker gives 1544 as the time of his appointment. Is anything more known of him? He died probably in 1546, for in that year Richard Carre was appointed Warden.

5. Thomas Ithel. He was Warden (now Master) of Jesus College from 1563 to 1579. Parker gives this report of him:—"Thomas

Ithel, of Wales, Doctor of Law in 1563, Prebendary of Ely, Chancellor of the diocese of Ely under Bishop Richard Cox, Provost the 5th of Elizabeth, rector of the Donative Church of Emneth in Norfolk." The title seems then to have been indeterminate, for Ithel is called Provost on p. 122, and in the heading of the list the word Wardens is used. I have not been able to obtain any additional information about this Welshman.

It is evident that many students came to Cambridge from Wales in the sixteenth century. John Williams, one of the best scholars of his time, afterwards Archbishop of York; William Glynne, Professor of Theology, afterwards Bishop of Bangor; Richard Vaughan and William Morgan (translator of the Bible into Welsh), the one Bishop of London, and the other Bishop of Llandaff; and Edward Vaughan, Bishop of St. David's, were all educated at Cambridge.

JOHN DAVIES.

Miscellaneous Notices.

A SPLENDID hoard of ancient bronze weapons has recently been found by labourers in cutting a drain in the parish of Wilburton, near Ely, on the property of Mr. Claude Pell of Wilburton Manor. The collection consists of about one hundred and ten spear and javelin-heads, ten sword-blades (broken), two socketed celts, a palstave, ferrules for the butt-ends of spears, ends of sword-sheaths, and other articles. The spear-heads are of various sizes and shapes, but all elegant in design; and as castings, equal to a brassfounder's work of the present day. This collection of weapons lay in a heap upon the clay, below the fen peat, and their deposition is supposed to have been the result of a boat accident. A fen fire which occurred at the spot some years back, reached these treasures, and fused and injured many of the weapons; but the greater number are still well preserved, and in good condition.

WE find, from *The Academy*, that *Historic Notices of the Borough of Flint*, by Mr. Henry Taylor, Deputy Constable of Flint Castle, is in the press, and will be published shortly by Mr. Elliot Stock. The work will contain much curious information and official documents, and will be illustrated by facsimiles and woodcuts.

THE latest additions to the Egerton Library of MSS. in the British Museum comprise three volumes of Welsh pedigrees (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), and a Register of "Inquisitiones post Mortem" for Cheshire, from the time of Edward III to Richard III.

Reviews.

CHIPS FROM OLD STONES. BY THE AUTHOR OF "HILL-FORTS AND STONE-CIRCLES OF ANCIENT SCOTLAND." Privately printed. George Waterston and Sons. Edinburgh, 1881.

SUCH is the unpretending title of a work by the authoress of the well known folio volume of *Hill-Forts and Stone-Circles of Ancient Scotland*, which has attracted so much attention not only in this but in other countries, and which has been already made known to the members of this Association. The present work, however, if less in bulk, is more comprehensive as to its subject-matter. Before, however, we enter into detail, we cannot refrain from mentioning one circumstance which must give additional value to this work, and that is, that the writer makes it an invariable rule to see with her own eyes, and not trust to those of others. To carry out such a rule, especially among Scottish hills, the amount of energy and labour to be undergone is such that even zealous archæologists of the rougher sex are too often inclined, under such circumstances, to make their observations and form their views on lower and more accessible ground. Nay, we are not always satisfied in our minds that the published works of some archæologists are not taken too much on trust. Such is not the rule of Miss MacLagan. She sees and judges for herself; so that we have double security as to the faithfulness of her illustrations and her accurate judgment.

The "Brocks" of Scotland are known (at least from published accounts) to most of those who live in this southern world. They were formerly assigned to Danish builders,—an opinion long since disproved. At first sight they may be thought not unlike the round towers of Ireland; from which, however, they materially differ both in construction and use. The opinion of the late John Stuart, one of the most able of Scottish antiquaries, and for so many years Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, is the one generally now acceded to, namely, that they are a development of subterranean dwellings, in course of time continued above ground, and made in the form of a circular tower, bearing a likeness to the *nuraghi* of Sardinia. These *nuraghi* have been more or less accurately described; but the best account of them is by the late General De la Marmora. It is stated, however, that he was no draughtsman, and employed others to do this necessary work for him, from his description. This method of illustrating is far from satisfactory, especially as some of those employed had not even seen the objects they drew. The result was, as might be expected, these towers are represented in most fanciful form. Since that time great alterations have taken place, so that these remains are now seriously misrepresented.

De la Marmora has stated in his *Voyage en Sardaigne*, that in his time there were more than three thousand of them standing, while in the course of two thousand years many must have vanished. However, Miss MacLagan, on her first survey from the lofty ramparts of Cagliari, from which a vast extent of country was visible, saw no traces of them. On inquiry as to the cause of this, she was informed that having been turned into abodes for bandits, the Government ordered their destruction. The result is that the traveller from this point has to travel four hours to reach the nearest; which is, too, in a very dilapidated state. Driving is no pleasant work over roads paved with loose, rough pebbles, with watercourses to be crossed, the fords being full of dangerous hollows. How any lady could have survived such a jolting is not easy to understand, unless we assume that Scottish ladies are of tougher *physique* than their southern friends.

At last the building was reached, and was found to be a double or twin house, examples of which also occur in Treceiri in Carnarvonshire. (*Arch. Camb.*, 1871, p. 84.) There is, however, a certain difference, in as much as there is a very narrow communication between the two compartments, through which a hand might be inserted; but this is not the case in Wales.

Miss MacLagan remarks on a peculiarity of the entrance, which she states to be very much in use among *nuraghi*. It is bent round the outer wall, and its shape is that of a comma. She conjectures this was done to connect it with the entrance of the other apartment, which is straight. It is curious, however, that this curved entrance also occurs in more than one of the Treceiri houses; but in these latter instances, as they are turned away from the direction of the prevalent winds, it has been conjectured that the object of the builders was protection from the wind in such an elevated and exposed situation as the summit of one of the so called Rivals, or, as Pennant terms them, the "Eiff Hills". The conclusion of our authoress is that there is nothing in this *nuragh* to compare with the *brocks* of Scotland, although those that she subsequently visited had many similar details as regards the internal stairs and chambers. The most remarkable of these structures is about two miles from Paulo Latini. It is not a single building, but a group contained within a huge triangular wall of excellent masonry, a plan of which, together with a restored view of the whole group, will be found in Plate 14 of De la Marmora's work.

The illustrations of these primitive structures fill Plates 1 and 2 of the *Chips*, and are remarkable not merely for their accuracy, but as being the only reliable ones that have yet appeared of these Sardinian mysteries.

The *Chips* are, however, not confined to Sardinia, for the next division embraces notices of the prehistoric antiquities of Brittany illustrated by the same skilful hand. Some of these, more or less accurate, have appeared in other works, with, perhaps, the exception of the huge fragments of the great menhir at Locmariaker, which

has never been figured before, as far as we are aware. This monster measured 68 feet long, with a greatest breadth of 14; and although now in four fragments, yet even our authoress allows that they "had formed part of one great whole"; but at the same time she maintains that the stone never was erected, for being pointed at both ends it never could have been placed upright unless a hole sufficiently large had been dug in the solid rock; but no traces of such a hole exist. She can find no writer who mentions it as even traditionally having ever been standing, and adds, the fact of its being broken goes somewhat towards proving that the upright position is mere conjecture. We fear we do not appreciate the force of the argument.

Another difficulty is the breaking of the stone, hitherto conjectured to have been caused by lightning; but this she denies, and is supported by one of the chief engineers of Glasgow, to whom she submitted two questions,—1. Do you believe this stone ever stood on an end? 2. What was the cause of its breaking and misplacement? His answer to the first question was, *simply impossible*; and if fire was applied under the middle part of the stone lying on a granite rock, the heat, by the force of expansion, would effect the disruption.

This gentleman's first answer is not worth much, seeing that a stone in the same country, about 60 feet, has at some period been so erected, and is *still standing* at no great distance from Brest. As to the second answer, it may be so far true as to splitting the stone, but could never have displaced one of the portions to the distance and position it occupies. But then comes the question how such a column was brought thither? If by an iceberg, the stone would not have been of the same character as the granite of the district. But independently of this difficulty, it is, we fear, impossible to agree with Miss Maclagan's ingenious explanation, viz., that they wanted large capstones for chambers like that of the *Table aux Marchands*, not far from the spot; for in the first place such huge masses would not furnish the required tables or capstones; and in the second, they were never so employed, being left as they were at the time of the breaking.

But we have already exceeded our limits. There is much of interesting detail of her work in Brittany, and some of the famous stone monuments of her own country, concluding with an account of the singular cup and other markings on the pavement-slabs of the Foro Romano, exactly similar to those in Scotland and elsewhere, to which the late Sir James Simpson first directed the attention of antiquaries.

We cannot conclude without expressing our deep regret that this volume is confined to her private friends, and that the outer public know little or nothing of it.
